THE

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

No. 80.] *AUGUST*, 1808. [No. 8. Vol. VII.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I DO not find that your correspondent Talib advances in his last letter (Christian Observer, June 1808,) any fresh arguments in proof of his opinion, that the 1260 years have already expired, except two: 1. It is not necessary to suppose, that the Jews will begin to be restored *precisely* at the expiration of the 1260 years; therefore they *may* have expired, though the Jews are still scattered: 2. The 1260 years expire at the coming of the Ancient of days; the coming of the Ancient of days synchronizes with the sounding of the seventh trumpet; the seventh trumpet began to sound in the year 1792; therefore the 1260 years *must* have expired.

In these positions there is a mixture of truth and error. I believe the 1260 years to expire at the coming of the Ancient of days, and I believe that the seventh trumpet began to sound in the year 1792: but I deny that the coming of the Ancient of days synchronizes with the first blast of the seventh trumpet; I deny that the 1260 years expired when that trumpet began to sound; and I deny the validity of the supposition, that, consistently with prophecy, the Jews may begin to be restored at some indefinite time after the expiration of the 1260 years. In short, I still maintain, what I have ever maintained: 1. That the Jews will begin to be restored so soon as the 1260 years shall have terminated; and 2. That these 1260 years commence at the sounding of the first woe-trumpet, and expire at the effusion of the seventh vial. If I can establish these two positions, the hypothesis of Talib, however apparently supported by current events, must be erroneous.

1. In opposition to the lax ideas of Talib on the subject, the era of the restoration of Judah seems to me to be very definitely marked both by our Lord, by St. Paul, and by Daniel.

Our Lord teaches us, that the Jews shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. I need not tell Talib, that these *times of the Gentiles* are no indefinite period; but that, by the general consent of our best commentators, they denote either *the times of the four great monarchies*, or (what amounts to the same thing in point of termination) *the three times and a half*, which are the last times of the last monarchy. Since, then, the Jews are to be led away into all nations until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled, it follows, that, when those times *are* fulfilled, they will *cease* to be led away captive; in other words, when the three times and a half shall have expired, they will begin to be restored.

St. Paul assures us, that blindness in part is happened to Israel only until the fulness (of the times) of the Gentiles be come; but, when that fulness *is* come, then all Israel shall be saved, and the Deliverer shall come out of Zion. Here we again see the beginning of the restoration and conversion of Israel fixed to the completion of the times of the Gentiles, or the expiration of the 1260 years.

Daniel gives us exactly the same

information. He teaches us, that, to the end of the period of wonders, there shall be three times and a half; and that, when all the wonders comprehended within that period shall be finished, the power of the holy people shall cease to be scattered. Since, then, all the wonders contained within the period of the three times and a half are finished when the scattering of the holy people is finished; it is manifest, that the period of their scattering will come to a close, and consequently that they themselves will begin to be restored, when the three times and a half shall have expired *. Nor is this point revealed by Daniel only in a single passage: we may collect it indirectly from another remarkable declaration of his. All the prophets, who treat of the restoration of the Jews, represent it as synchronizing with some very signal destruction of God's enemies in the land of Palestine. Now Daniel informs us, not only that his people shall cease to be scattered at the close of the three times and a half, but likewise that they shall be delivered contemporaneously with an expedition into Palestine by Antichrist, who is there destined to perish; and moreover that this expedition shall take place at a period denominated *the time of the end*. But this time of the end, as may be collected from other parts of Daniel, denotes *the period of 75 years*, which commences at the expiration of the 1260 years, and extends to the beginning of the Millennium. Hence it follows, that the restoration of the Jews, synchronizing with the expedition of Antichrist, must likewise take place at the time of the end, or at the expiration of the 1260 years.

2. I next inquire, at what particular epoch in the Revelation it will commence; that is to say, at the beginning of which of the apocalyptic periods the 1260 years expire.

Here we may first observe, that, since the Jews are to be restored in the midst of great political convulsions, and since in the course of their restoration a great confederacy of God's enemies is to be overthrown in the land of Palestine, that apocalyptic period, under which the confederacy is described as being overthrown, must plainly be the period during which the Jews are restored, and at the commencement of which the 1260 years expire. Now the only apocalyptic period which answers to this representation, is that of the seventh vial. Under this concluding vial, the great Antichristian confederacy of the beast, the false prophet, and the kings of the whole ecumenè or Roman world, is routed at Armageddon, to which it had been previously gathered together under the sixth vial. But *Armageddon* signifies *the cursing to utter destruction at Megiddo;* and Megiddo is a town of Palestine. Moreover, St. John teaches us that this dreadful winepress of God's indignation should be trodden in some country, the extent of which should be 1600 furlongs; and such is found to be precisely the extent of Palestine. Hence it appears, that the destruction of the apocalyptic confederacy of God's enemies will take place in Palestine; and consequently that it must be the same as the final destruction of God's enemies in Palestine, which the ancient prophets have foretold. But this destruction they unanimously represent as synchronizing with the restoration of Judah. Therefore the restoration of Judah must likewise synchronize with the destruction of the apocalyptic confederacy, and consequently must take place under the seventh vial. But the restoration of Judah commences at the expiration of the times of the Gentiles, or at the close of the 1260 years. Therefore the times of the Gentiles must expire, and the 1260 years must terminate, at the effusion of the seventh vial.

This matter may be further proved almost to an absolute demonstration

* Mede's Clav. Apoc. Pars ii. Synchron. 5. Works, B. iii. c. 4. p. 590. B. iii. p. 709. B. iv. p. 753. Wintle on Dan. xii. 7, 11.

by pursuing another train of argument, the length of which will readily be excused, when the importance of ascertaining the right chronological arrangement of prophecy is considered.

That part of the Apocalypse, which treats of "things that must be hereafter," is divided into three septenaries; that of the seals, that of the trumpets, and that of the vials. Of these, the seals are successive to each other; and, by the general consent of commentators, the seventh seal introduces and comprehends the seven trumpets, which are likewise successive. But there is not quite the same agreement respecting the arrangement of the vials.

Mr. Mede maintains, that the six first vials belong to the sixth trumpet, and that the effusion of the seventh vial synchronizes with the first blast of the seventh trumpet*. His chief arguments in favour of this arrangement are, that the seventh trumpet introduces the third woe, that this third woe is the battle of Armageddon, and that the battle of Armageddon evidently belongs to the seventh vial; therefore that the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial commence together: that the seventh trumpet and seventh vial both equally introduce the consummation of God's mystery, because it is said that the mystery of God is finished when the seventh angel begins to sound, and that it is done when the seventh vial is poured out†; but the same mystery cannot be finished at two different times; therefore likewise that the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial commence together: and consequently, since this is the case, that the six first vials must necessarily precede the seventh trumpet, and ought to be arranged under the sixth trumpet‡.

The first of Mr. Mede's arguments is built on the assumption, that the battle of Armageddon is *exclusively* the third woe: but this we are not bound to allow; for all the seven vials are *jointly* called *the last plagues;* therefore we are equally at liberty to suppose, that they *jointly* (though as so many component parts) constitute the last woe. His second argument is built on an erroneous translation; which moreover, consistently with another very just criticism of his own, he cannot but allow to be an erroneous translation. The great angel does not swear that the mystery of God should be *finished,* when the seventh angel should be about to sound his trumpet; but only that it should be *about to be finished;* it should not then be *actually consummated,* but should only be *drawing near to its final consummation.* As Mr. Mede himself observes, "every grammarian knows, that the aorists subjunctive supply the place of the future, which the subjunctive wants." Hence he rightly translates Rev. xi. 7, *when they shall be about to finish their testimony,* not *when they shall have finished their testimony.* And hence, in a similar manner, the passive subjunctive aorist τελεσθῃ, which speaks of the finishing of God's mystery, ought to be rendered in the future *shall be about to be finished,* not in the past *shall be finished.* Thus it appears, that the mystery which was only *about to be finished* at the commencement of the seventh trumpet, is afterwards declared to be *actually finished* at the effusion of the seventh vial. Consequently Mr. Mede's proof, that the seventh vial and the seventh trumpet commence together, is unsatisfactory.

The other hypothesis, which I think ought to be adopted in preference to Mr. Mede's, is this: that, as the seventh seal comprehends the seven trumpets, so the seventh trum-

* Clav. Apoc. Pars ii. Synch. 3.

† Rev. x. 7. xvi. 17.

‡ Mede's Works, B. iii. c. 2. p. 585. Ibid. c. 8. p. 595. Comment. Apoc. in Vind. p. 521, 522. Ibid. in Tub. vii. B. v. p. 910. Ibid. p. 920. Clav. Apoc. Pars ii. Synch. 3. B. iii. c. 6. p. 592.

pet comprehends the seven vials. The propriety of such an arrangement is manifest, from the following considerations:—The seventh trumpet is styled *the last* of the three great woes; and all the seven vials are jointly styled *the last plagues*, nothing peculiar being said to distinguish the last vial from its predecessors, but *all* being *jointly* designated *the last*. There cannot, however, be *two* last periods; nor can the six first vials, no less than the seventh, be justly denominated *the last plagues*, if they precede the third and last woe. Consequently, the last woe must necessarily synchronize with the last plagues. But, if the last woe synchronize with the last plagues, it must comprehend them as forming so many parts of one grand whole. But there is another argument, perhaps more decisive than this, which was urged against Mr. Mede by Mr. Wood, and has since been stated afresh by Mr. Fraser. It is said by St. John, that one of the effects produced by the sounding of the seventh trumpet was *the opening of the temple of God in heaven*, which therefore was *previously* shut *. And it is likewise said by him, that out of the temple *thus opened* the seven angels came, who were appointed to pour out the seven vials †. This being the case, since the temple opens at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and since the angels come out of the temple *after* it is thus opened to pour out the seven vials; it necessarily follows, that the sounding of the seventh trumpet must precede and introduce the effusion of *all* the seven vials ‡. To this argument the only answer which Mr. Mede returns is a denial of the premises on which it is founded. He allows that the temple is not opened in heaven until the seventh trumpet sounds, but he asserts that it likewise is not opened until the plagues of the seven vials are fulfilled; because it is said that the temple was filled with smoke, and that no man could enter into it until after the accomplishment of the seven plagues*. But such a reply by no means meets the objection. The apostle only says, that *the temple was filled with smoke, and that no man could enter into it until the plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled*; not that *the temple remained shut during the fulfilment of them, and was only opened after their fulfilment*. This will be abundantly evident, if we attend to the plain statement of the apostle. The order of the circumstances is as follows:—The seventh trumpet sounds, and the temple is opened. From the temple, *thus opened*, seven angels come out. To these seven angels, one of the four living creatures gives the seven vials. The temple, *although now opened*, is nevertheless so filled with smoke, that no man is able to enter into it until the plagues of the seven angels are fulfilled. The angels having now come out of the *opened* temple, and having received the seven vials, proceed forthwith to pour them out †. Hence it appears, that Mr. Mede's denial of the premises is groundless; and consequently that the argument decidedly proves *all* the seven vials to be introduced by, and therefore to be comprehended under, the seventh trumpet.

Having now established the proper arrangement of the vials, I proceed to deduce from it *at what pre-*

* Rev. xi. 15, 19.

† Rev. xv. 5, 6.

‡ Wood's second argument in Mede's Works, B. iii. c. 6. p. 592. Fraser's Key to the Prophecies, p. 54, 55.

* Rev. xv. 8. Mede's Works, p. 592.

† Rev. xi. 15, 19. xv. 5, 6, 7, 8. xvi. 1. Mr. Mede, by way of yet further extricating himself from this difficulty, observes, that, according to the reading of the Complutensian edition, the angels do not come out of *the temple*, but out of *heaven*. This however, even if it be the true reading, will by no means warrant his gloss; for St. John beholds the temple opened, before the seven angels even *receive* the vials from the living creature, much more therefore before they *pour them out*.

cise point of the Apocalypse the period of 1260 *years begins, and at what precise point it ends.*

The four first trumpets, as all our best commentators agree (with some slight varieties in their *particular* exposition of them), relate to the incursions of the northern nations, and the consequent downfal of the western part of the Roman empire. Now St. Paul teaches us, that the revelation of the man of sin, who is clearly the papal little horn described by Daniel, should be preceded by a great apostacy; and that it should moreover be prevented, until a certain determined time, by a power then in existence, which power should be taken away previous to such revelation of the man of sin. What this power is, St. Paul does not directly specify; but, according to the universal tradition of the ancient church, a tradition most probably received from the Thessalonians to whom the apostle (as he himself unequivocally intimates *) had *verbally* declared the power, the western or original Roman empire was intended by him. The western Roman empire, however, was finally taken away under the fourth trumpet. Therefore the open revelation of the man of sin, which synchronizes (as I have elsewhere observed) with the commencement of the 1260 years, must be *subsequent* to the fourth trumpet; because the power that prevented it was not completely taken away until the sounding of that trumpet. Consequently, the 1260 years must have commenced *subsequent* to the blast of the fourth trumpet.

After the four first trumpets have finished sounding, St. John evidently points out to us the beginning of some new and remarkable period; for he specially styles the three last trumpets *three woes*. Now, since these trumpets by being thus designated are plainly more or less connected with each other; since the preventing power has now been removed under the fourth trumpet; since therefore we may expect the speedy revelation of the man of sin; and since (notwithstanding what Talib says to the contrary) most persons will think it highly improbable that so remarkable an epoch as *his revelation* and *the commencement of the* 1260 *years* should not synchronize with the beginning of some one of the great apocalyptic periods; we are naturally led to expect, that the man of sin is revealed, and that the 1260 years commence, at the beginning of the first woe-trumpet. This, I say, we are naturally led to expect *a priori*; but we have no right to conclude that our expectation is well founded, unless the chronological era of the beginning of the first woe-trumpet will correspond with the mark by which Daniel teaches us to ascertain the commencement of the 1260 years. The mark is, *the delivering the saints into the hand of the papal little horn*; and the chronological era of the beginning of the first woe-trumpet, according to the general consent of our ablest expositors, is *the commencement of the Mohammedan imposture*. But this imposture commenced in the year 606: therefore the first woe-trumpet began to sound in the year 606. Now in this very year the saints were given into the hand of the little horn by the grant of *universal episcopacy* to the pope: therefore we have reason to conclude, that the 1260 years commence at the beginning of the first woe-trumpet. I may add, that this is only one reason out of many for such a conclusion. Various other arguments are adduced, in my Dissertation on the 1260 Years, to prove the same point.

So much for their apocalyptic commencement: we must now endeavour to ascertain their apocalyptic termination.

Mr. Mede, as we have seen, makes the beginning of the third woe-trumpet to synchronize with the beginning of the seventh vial; and he assigns, as one reason for this

* 2 Thess. ii. 5, 6.

arrangement, the taking place of the completion of God's mystery equally at the beginning of them both. On the same ground he maintains, that the 1260 years terminate equally at the beginning of them both: because, since *the finishing of God's mystery* must mean *the expiration of the* 1260 *years and the consequent introduction of Christ's kingdom upon earth,* and since this mystery is alike said to be finished at the beginning both of the third woe-trumpet and of the seventh vial, the 1260 years must alike expire at the beginning both of the third woe-trumpet and the seventh vial *.

This argument of Mr. Mede would be perfectly conclusive, if its premises were well founded. I think it clear, that *the finishing of God's mystery* means *the finishing of the* 1260 *years, and the consequent introduction of Christ's millennian kingdom;* and I think it equally clear, that the finishing of this mystery is alike spoken of by the great angel who announces the future sounding of the seventh trumpet †, and by the great voice from the throne, which, upon the effusion of the seventh vial, exclaims *It is done,* that is to say, *The mystery is done* ‡. But, though the finishing of the same mystery be alike spoken of in both these passages, it is by no means spoken of in the same manner. For, as I have already shown, the mystery is only declared to be *about to be finished* at the commencement of the seventh trumpet, while it is said to be *actually* done at the commencement of the seventh vial. And this future rendering of the original word τελεσθη is equally required by the genius of the Greek language, and by what I have proved to be the proper arrangement of the seven vials: because, since all the seven vials are introduced by the seventh trumpet, and since therefore the effusion of the seventh vial is considerably posterior to the commencement of the seventh trumpet; that mystery, which is *actually finished* at the effusion of the seventh vial, cannot *likewise* be *actually finished* at the *prior* commencement of the seventh trumpet, which introduces, not only the seventh vial, but all the six preceding vials. Such being the case, since the mystery of God is finished when the 1260 years expire, and since this mystery is also finished at the effusion of the seventh vial (whence Mr. Mede justly denominates it *the vial of consummation*); it will follow, that the 1260 years expire at the effusion of the seventh vial. This same mystery seems to me to be spoken of by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 25). A part of the great mystery of God is the unconverted state of Israel until the fulness of the times of the Gentiles be arrived. When that fulness *is* arrived, when the 1260 years *have* expired, then the mystery is accomplished. Daniel evidently alludes to this same mystery of the 1260 years in chap. xii. 6, 7; as will appear to any one who compares that passage with Rev. x. 5, 6, 7. What St. John styles *a deep mystery,* Daniel speaks of as *a period of wonders.* When the wonders are finished, when the three times and a half have expired, and when the holy people cease to be scattered, then the mystery of God is accomplished.

The preceding statement perfectly accords with the opinion entertained by the Hebrew doctors respecting the future restoration of the Jews. They suppose that it will take place at the time that the Roman empire in its last state is finally overthrown. And their opinion seems to have been founded, partly on the persuasion that by *the Edom,* whose downfal is so frequently

* See Mede's Clav. Apoc. Pars ii. Synch. 5. p. 429. Com. Apoc. in Tub. vii. Works, B. iii. c. 4. p. 590. B. v. c. 11. p. 910. Bishop Newton and Mr. Lowman agree with Mr. Mede in referring the γεγονε of Rev. xvi. 17. to *the mystery* of Rev. x. 7. Indeed it is hard to say to what else it can be referred.

† Rev. x. 7.

‡ Rev. xvi. 17.

connected in prophecy with the return of Judah, *the Roman empire* was intended; and partly upon the comparison with each other of two passages in Daniel. In the first of these, the tyrannical domination of the Roman beast, under the influence of his little horn, is limited to three times and a half; at the end of which the judgment is to sit, and the beast is to be slain. In the second, the scattering of the holy people is said to be finished at the end of the period of wonders; which period is itself limited to the times of the beast, or the three times and a half. Hence they drew the obvious conclusion, that the slaying of the beast, and the restoration of the Jews, both equally taking place at the close of the three times and a half, were necessarily synchronical *.

If, then, there be any validity in this train of argument (and I am not aware of any lurking fallacy in it), the 1260 years cannot as yet have expired, as Talib supposes. The seventh vial is not yet poured out, because the sixth (even to say nothing of the fifth) yet remains to be poured out upon the Ottoman power; the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled, because the Jews are still scattered among all nations; therefore the 1260 years cannot yet have expired. I much doubt whether any thing, but the actual immediate restoration of the Jews, will convince me to the contrary. The arguments at least which Mr. Bicheno and Talib have *hitherto* adduced in proof of their opinion, seem to me to weigh as nothing against those in favour of the opposite side of the question. The former of my respectable opponents has argued, that, considering the wonderful rapidity with which events have lately succeeded each other, it is difficult to believe that the 1260 years will not expire till the year 1866, which I have conjectured to be the era of their termination. This mode of arguing is rather an appeal to the imagination, than to the judgment. We know not *what* may occur to retard matters. Who, for instance, shall venture *positively* to assert, that the fifth vial is already poured out? But if it be *not* already poured out, it must be poured out upon the French government: for that government is evidently now the head of the Roman beast. And, since it is to be poured out on the throne of the beast, it is not easy to conceive what can be intended by it, except some direct attack upon his tyrannical imperial authority. I mention this, *not even as a conjecture*, but merely to shew the weakness of any argument founded on passing events. *Things cannot continue till the year* 1866. My answer is, *How do you know that they cannot continue till then? How do you know that the fifth vial does not yet remain to be poured out?*

I believe we have now pretty nearly exhausted the question, *whether the* 1260 *years be already expired, or not:* but, however that may be, I greatly fear we shall have exhausted the patience of most of your readers. Yet there is one matter I cannot forbear noticing. I have maintained, in opposition to Mede and Newton, that *the little horn of the Roman beast* symbolizes *the spiritual kingdom of the pope*, not *his petty Italian principality* That I was right, is now proved by the event. The pope is stripped of his principality: consequently, if *that* was symbolized by *the little horn*, the little horn is no longer in existence. This, however, will not quadrate with the prophecy. Whatever be the duration of the horn's *bare existence*, it is at any rate to *exist* not less than 1260 years, because so long the saints are to be given into its hand. But, if the patrimony of St. Peter be the horn, then the horn is no more, after having been in existence, not 1260

* See Mede's Works, B. v. c. 8. p. 902. Bishop Newton's Dissert. vol. ii. p. 190---194. Vol. iii. p. 392.

years (which the prophecy requires), but only about 1000, or 1050 years. If Pepin or Charlemagne made the pope to be a horn in the year 756 or 800, by conferring upon him a temporal principality (as Mede and Newton suppose), Bonaparte has caused him to cease to be a horn by depriving him of that principality in 1808. But, in that case, the little horn will plainly not have existed 1260 years. Hence I think it manifest, that *my* interpretation of the symbol must be the right one.

I do not choose to enter into any dispute with Talib respecting our Lord's prophecy. All that I know on the subject, I have stated in my work on the restoration of the Jews. I must still say, that an argument drawn from a disputed interpretation of a prophecy, cannot be allowed to be altogether conclusive. I do not believe, that the word γινομαι will bear any such sense as "*a plain honest man*" assigns to it. It doubtless signifies either *to come to pass*, or *to be born*; for these are kindred ideas: when an event comes to pass, *it is born out of the womb of time*; when a man is born *he is*, whereas before *he was not*. But I doubt whether an instance can be found, where it either signifies *to begin to come to pass*, or *to begin to be born*. If we translate the passage, *this generation shall not pass, till all these events shall be born*; according to *my* conceptions, we shall be just where we were. For, if the present generation was not to pass till all those events had been born out of the womb of time, it surely was not to pass till all those events had been fulfilled. The sense seems to me to be precisely the same, according to either translation. If Talib will give a perfectly unobjectionable interpretation of that very difficult prophecy, I shall be happy to avail myself of it: for my own part, I readily confess, that I do not understand it, and that I have never yet met with an interpretation which altogether satisfied me.

Stockton, July 6, 1808. G. S. FABER.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I APPREHEND, Mr. Editor, that one object of the Christian Observer is that of enlarging the views, diversifying the knowledge, and exalting the taste of many of your truly pious readers, whose minds have been contracted, partly perhaps in consequence of that very separation from the world which is one proof of their religious sincerity. I am no friend to that kind of liberality for which many plead; a liberality which leads to a conformity to the world in practice, and to latitudinarianism in principle. Though I partly agree with the correspondent in your number for December 1806, who objects to an *indiscriminate* recommendation of the works of such men as Whichcote, &c., yet I cannot help thinking that a few quotations from that author, or from other writers whose views on some leading points of doctrine may be imperfect, but whose spirit nevertheless is occasionally excellent, may now and then be permitted to enrich the pages of your work. Saurin seems to me a divine of this class. He is faulty in several respects: he is even defective in his statement of some evangelical doctrines. Saurin, however, often makes the most striking use of generally-acknowledged truths; such as the omniscience or eternity of God, the mortality of man, the nearness of death, and the importance of the day of judgment. He sometimes takes the sublimest flights; and his sublimity is that, not of genius alone, but of genius and piety most happily and delightfully combined. I will now submit to you a passage from this author, which will, I am sure, approve itself to every class of your readers; and though it may not particularly instruct the head, is calculated to excite the utmost solemnity, and to warm the best affections of the heart.—He is speaking of no less a subject than the eternity of God, and the dissolution of this perishable world.

"First," he says, "the destruction of the universe affords us a picture of the *power of our Judge.* How powerful, my brethren, is this Judge! 'Who can resist his will?' Once there was no sea, no earth, no firmament; one frightful night covered the whole face of the universe. *He spake,* and all these things appeared. Now we behold a sea, an earth, and a firmament. *He will again speak,* and the sea shall be dry, the earth shall be consumed, the stars shall disappear, the firmament shall be found no more. Such is the God whom the sinner attacks. A God, 'who taketh up the isles as a very little thing.' A God, 'who removeth the mountains, and overturneth them in his anger; who shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble.' A God, 'who commandeth the sun and it riseth not, and sealeth up the stars; who doth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number.' Job ix. 5, 6, 7, 10.

"Secondly. The conflagration of the universe affords us a picture of *the horrors of vice.* It is not enough to condemn to eternal flames, and to confine in chains of darkness, those who have fled from his justice. Not content to punish the ambitious, he will destroy even the instruments of ambition, and overturn those thrones and palaces which have caused it. Not content to punish the voluptuous, he will destroy even the objects of voluptuousness; and consume the heavens, the earth, and the elements which have afforded matter of concupiscence. Heavens! earth! elements! are ye guilty? But if ye be treated with so much rigour for having been the unconscious instruments of the crime, what must the condition of the criminal be!

"Thirdly. In the burning of the universe we find a representation of *the vanity of the present world.* What is this world which fascinates our eyes! It is a funeral pile, that already begins to burn, and will soon be entirely consumed: it is a world that must end; and all that must end is far inferior to an immortal soul. The thought of death is already a powerful motive to us to place our affections on another world: for what is death? It is to every individual what one day the final ruin will be to the generality of mankind: it is the destruction of the heavens, which *pass away with a great noise;* it is the dissolution of elements; it is the entire conflagration of the world, and of the *works which are therein.* Yet vanity hath invented refuges against this storm. The hope of an imaginary immortality hath been able to support some men against the fear of real death. The idea of existing in the minds of those who exist after them, hath in some sort comforted them under the miserable thought of being no more. Hence pompous buildings and stately edifices: hence rich monuments and superb mausoleums: hence proud inscriptions and vain-glorious titles inscribed on marble and brass. You will not only be stretched in your tombs, and cease to use the houses and fields and palaces which you inhabit; but these houses, these fields, these palaces, will be consumed; and the memory of all that is fastened to the world will vanish with the world. Since, then, this is the condition of all sensible things; since all these sensible things must perish; immortal man, infinite spirit, eternal soul, dost thou fasten thyself to vanity and instability? Dost thou not seek for a good more suitable to thy nature and duration? *Seeing all these things must be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness!*

"Fourthly. The conflagration of the world furnisheth a description of *the world to come.* You often hear us declaim on the nothingness of earthly things. We frequently say with Solomon, *vanity of vanities, all is vanity;* vanity in pleasures, vanity in grandeurs, vanity in riches, vanity in sciences, vanity in all! Could I extract the choicest dignities and

fortunes; could I inhabit the most temperate clime and the most pleasant country; could I choose the most benevolent hearts and the wisest minds; could I take the most happy temper and the most sublime genius; could I cultivate the sciences, and make the fine arts flourish; could I collect and unite all that could please the passions, and banish all that could give pain; a life formed on this plan how likely to please us! Ah, my brethren, a life formed on this plan might indeed answer the ideas of happiness which feeble and finite geniuses form; but such a plan cannot even approach the designs of an infinite God. A life formed on this plan might indeed exhaust a terrestrial love, but it could never reach the love of an infinite God. To accomplish this love, there must be another world; there must be new heavens and a new earth; there must be objects far more grand.

"Finally. The destruction of the universe displays *the excellence of piety*. O that I could represent the believer amidst fires, flames, winds, tempests, the confusion of all nature, content, peaceable, unalterable! O that I could represent the heavens passing away, the elements dissolving with fervent heat, the earth and the things which are in it burning up, and the believer, that man, that inconsiderable man, little by his nature, but great by the privileges with which piety endows him, without suspicion, rising fearless above all the catastrophes of the universe, and surviving its ruins! O that I could describe the believer, while all 'the tribes of the earth mourn and smite their breasts,' while the wicked shall be 'as if they were giving up the ghost,' while their despair exhales in these dreadful howlings, 'Mountains, fall on us; hills, cover us from the face of Him who sits on the throne, and from the face of the Lamb!' O that I could describe the believer, assured, triumphant, founded on the Rock of Ages, 'hasting unto the coming of the day of God,' as the apostle expresseth it; aiming with transports of joy which we cannot express (O may we one day experience these transports!), aiming to approach the presence of Jesus Christ as his tenderest friend and deliverer, literally proving the truth of this promise, 'When thou passest through the waters, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt.' O that I could represent him crying, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!' come, receive a creature once defiled with sin, sometimes even rebellious, yet always having at the bottom of his heart principles of love to thee; but now ravished with transports of joy, because he is entering an economy in which he shall be always submissive and always faithful.

"What shall I say to you, my dear brethren, to incline you to piety, if all these grand motives be without success? if the words of my text; if the voice of an apostle—what do I say?—the voice of an apostle!—if the 'sun darkened,' if 'the moon changed into blood,' if the 'stars fallen from heaven,' if 'the powers of heaven shaken,' if the 'heavens passing away with a great noise,' if the 'elements dissolving with fervent heat,' if the 'earth consumed, with all that is therein,' if the universal destruction of nature and elements, be incapable of loosening and detaching you from the present world?

"It is said, that, some days before the destruction of Jerusalem, a voice was heard proceeding from the holy place, and crying, *Let us go hence, let us go hence.* We preach (if I may be allowed to say so) in sight of the ruins of this whole universe. Yes, from the centre of the trembling world and crashing elements, a voice sounds, *Let us go hence,* let us quit the world, give our hopes more solid bases than inkindled worlds which will shortly be burnt up. And then pass away, heavens, with a great noise; consume, elements; burn, earth, with all thy

works; perish, universe; perish, nature—our felicity is above all such catastrophes; we cleave to the God of ages; to God, who is the source of existence and duration; to God, before whom 'a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years.' 'O Lord, of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old, like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou, Thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.' 'The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee!' Amen."

For the Christian Observer.

ON PEACE WITH GOD, AND THE MEANS OF OBTAINING IT.

To enjoy a well-founded peace with God is a blessing of such inestimable value, especially when our state as sinners, and the awful account we must all soon give at the tribunal of God, are considered, that we cannot be too earnest to obtain it, nor too solicitous to ascertain that it is built on stable ground. A mistake in this respect would be tremendous. There is, it is true, a large description of persons to whom the proposed inquiry will be likely to prove uninteresting; they conceive themselves to be already in possession of peace and acceptance with God, and therefore entertain no anxieties on the subject. They never are uneasy on account of their sins, nor tremble while they reflect on the holiness and justice of God; assuming that the Divine mercy will be extended to them in another state, with the same confidence with which they rely on the continuance of his goodness in the present. Such persons may doubtless be said, in a certain sense of the word, to possess peace. But the peace which they possess, is not the peace of the Gospel; for let it be remembered, the inquiry which is to be instituted respects not the degree of tranquillity which may be enjoyed, but the nature of that tranquillity, and the source from which it proceeds. The infidel who rejects revelation, even the Atheist who says there is no God, may enjoy a quiet and peaceful mind, disturbed by no spiritual doubts or fears. But it would obviously be wrong to assume that he is therefore at peace with God. And even among those who are nominally Christians, we generally find that such as are most ignorant and careless about religion are the most secure and confident with respect to their future state. A person who is ignorant is very apt to be presumptuous: not perceiving danger, he naturally has no fear. Inconsideration produces a similar effect, especially when a man's attention is so much engrossed by the business of the world, or the pleasures of sense, as to leave him neither leisure nor inclination to inquire into the state of his soul, to examine the word of God, or to reflect much on the various obligations of religion, and the account which he has to render of their fulfilment. And here it may be observed, that the taste of the age strongly tends to encourage a careless security on this point. Other ages have been superstitious and erroneous as to the means of obtaining the pardon of sin. They trusted to penances, to confessions, to works of charity: but still their object was good: they acknowledged their sin, and sought to appease the indignation of their Judge. But the present age, in throwing off the superstition and other errors of our forefathers, have laid aside also, it is to be feared, their just concern for the interests of eternity. The liberal ideas which it is now fashionable to entertain of the Almighty, banish all fear of his justice; and it would by many be regarded as indicating a want both of sense and piety, to express a doubt respecting

the indiscriminate extension of the Divine mercy.

These considerations sufficiently account for that indifference about salvation which is so often mistaken for peace with God: but such a peace is established on no solid foundation, the result of no serious investigation, neither the offspring of a religious frame of mind, nor accompanied by pious dispositions; a peace enjoyed in defiance of the declarations of God, and which stands in direct contradiction to the holiness of his nature.

The first indications of true religion manifest themselves by discarding this unfounded confidence: for true religion opens the eyes to behold the glorious majesty, the spotless purity, the awful justice of the Supreme Judge of the world. It leads us to listen with reverence and fear to his solemn denunciations. It impresses the heart with a dread of the Divine displeasure against sin, and produces an anxious desire to obtain his favour, as a benefit truly inestimable, and in comparison of which all other enjoyments are but as dross. The man awakes from his brutish insensibility. He has now a more just view of the nature and character of God, an increased reverence of his authority, a more earnest desire to please him, a more grateful sense of his mercies, a truer apprehension of the evil of sin, a better acquaintance with himself, and a more accurate idea of the nature and value of this world as compared with the next. Before, he was like the beasts of the field, insensible to future eternal consequences. He now begins to feel as a rational and immortal being, and becomes therefore alive to divine subjects. Hence his diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, his solicitude respecting the safety of his state, and his fervent applications to the Throne of Grace for pardon and acceptance. Such is the character to whom the Gospel addresses itself. This is the humble and contrite man to whom the Lord looks, the "poor in spirit" to whom the kingdom of heaven is promised. To the careless, the worldly, the sensual, the Gospel speaks nothing but what is calculated to shake their confidence and alarm their fears: to the humbled, the awakened sinner, it breathes the language of mercy and peace.

It is the great design of revelation to impart to our sinful race solid and durable peace; though many strangely conceive religion to be the parent only of gloom, and the great enemy to happiness. This design appears in nothing more clearly than in that wonderful method of communicating to man a joyful hope in Christ, which is made known by the Gospel. The Son of God comes down from heaven and dies upon the cross, to take away our sins, to remove every obstacle to an union between us and God, to produce a cheerful confidence in the mercy of our heavenly Father, and to fill all who truly receive the gospel with joy and peace; a peace founded on the promises, and established on the attributes, of the unchangeable God, which will keep the mind tranquil amidst all the troubles of this stormy life, and support it in the hour of sickness and death; a peace, which, while it enables us to enjoy with a purer relish the temporal mercies we receive, will also be the pledge and earnest to us of heaven itself.

But how is this peace to be obtained? I reply in the words of St. Paul: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

I scarcely need observe, that this is not the common method by which men seek to obtain peace with God. In general, they expect to derive their peace and their hope of future glory from their obedience to God; in other words, from their own merits. The method prescribed by the apostle, differs entirely from this. The one presents before God our own righteousness: the other makes the sacrifice and death of

Christ the consideration on account of which God is pleased to pardon sins. The one regards our salvation as an act in some respects of justice on the part of God: the other, as an act of the free grace and undeserved mercy of God through Christ. The one looks to the past life with a degree of approbation: the other with self-loathing, humiliation, and repentance. The one leads the sinner to undervalue the purity of the law, in order to bring it down to his own standard: the other encourages the highest possible conception of the demands of the law, and the justice of the Judge, but beholds those demands fulfilled by the righteousness of Christ, and that justice satisfied by his death. The one claims heaven as a reward: the other hopes for it as a free gift from the boundless mercy of God. The one expects the Divine favour as of right: the other sues for it as a criminal supplicates pardon. The tendency of the one is to exalt man: that of the other to abase man, and to glorify God.

Nor do these two modes of seeking peace with God differ more in their nature than in their effects. The peace which the one produces must necessarily be deferred, till obedience shall have been performed with a sufficient degree of exactness to justify the hope derived from it. Hence many persons, who are too enlightened, too sincere and humble, to think very favourably of their own excellence, never do attain to what may be called peace with God. They hope it may be well with them at last, through the mercy of God covering the defects of their obedience; but as for having peace with God, they do not pretend to it; they even suspect that enthusiasm or presumption alone can produce the profession of it. Hence they not only do not enjoy much consolation in religion; but their peace is very liable to be shaken by increasing knowledge of the duties they owe to God, and of the holiness of his nature; for this will necessarily diminish their confidence, and thus fill their minds with fear and perplexity.

On the other hand, it is clear that the first Christians, on their believing in Christ, enjoyed, as a fruit of their faith, a great degree of hope and peace. They are represented as being filled with joy and peace in believing, as blessing and praising God continually; as rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. These effects are spoken of by the apostle as the natural fruits of faith; and our faith in Christ, not our works, are stated to be the source from which they are derived. Nor is a mistake in this point of small account. Were it attended with no other disadvantage than that of losing, during a great part of our pilgrimage in this evil world, the delightful sense of reconciliation with God, and the cheering hope of eternal glory, we should be led most anxiously to inquire whether we are building our peace on a stable basis. But this is not all. The spirit and temper with which we obey the commands of God, will be very materially influenced by the motives which actuate us. If we rely on our own righteousness to justify us before God, we shall want the main spring to obedience. It is a view of the love of God in Christ Jesus; it is the filial confidence we feel in him as a reconciled Father; it is our fervent love to him in the contemplation of his innumerable excellencies and of his pardoning grace in Christ, which must give energy to our obedience, cheerfulness to our self-denial, activity and perseverance to our efforts. The Gospel is intended to supply men with powerful motives; motives sufficiently powerful to enable them to overcome the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to take up their cross daily. It is designed to renew the fallen nature of man, to carry him beyond himself and the world in which he lives, and to communicate to him a measure of the spirit and fire which animate the bright se-

raphs above. And how is this to be effected? only by a display of the same goodness which captivates those blessed spirits. They behold the transcendent glory of God, his infinite wisdom, power, and goodness; and in consequence of this, they feel so ardent a love to him, so perfect a confidence in him, so transporting a delight in his perfections, that they gladly give themselves up to his service. In like manner, when God would raise man from the low and abject state of sin, he begins by manifesting the infinite greatness of his mercy and grace, and by exhibiting such an affecting display of it, as shall captivate his heart, and lead him to adore, to praise, and to live in some measure as the angels in heaven. He sends his only begotten Son into the world to take our nature upon him, to die in our behalf, to rise again for our justification, to publish to the whole world the glad tidings of reconciliation, and to commission his apostles to beseech every creature to be reconciled to God.

It was this wonderful display of mercy and grace which affected the hearts of the first Christians. They gazed with astonishment, believed, adored, loved, and obeyed. Struck with the glorious view of Divine love, they surrendered themselves at once to Christ, as his willing servants; they readily sacrificed their vices and their evil tempers at his shrine; they even esteemed it an honour for his sake to suffer shame, or loss, or pain, or death itself. The glorious prospect which opened upon them produced an entire revolution in all their sentiments and feelings; the love of the world was wholly mortified in them; the world became no more in their estimation than the light dust of the balance; a moral change was wrought in them, corresponding to the change in their views; their own righteousness, which before was highly prized, they now accounted but as dross; and a ravishing hope of immortal glory, and an overflowing joy in God, through Jesus Christ, was at once the effect and the reward of their faith.

Let us now pause for a moment, and compare the views and feelings of such a person with those of the man who is endeavouring to found his peace on the merit of his own obedience. In the former case, Christ is the sun of his system, the fountain of light and life, of strength and peace, of hope and glory. In the latter, Christ is left out of view, or is dimly seen behind the shade of his own merit. He is acting on the same principles, and from the same motives and views, which might equally have influenced him if Christ had not come into the world and suffered on the cross. In the former, we perceive the spring of obedience to be, gratitude for the grace of God bestowed in Christ Jesus. In the latter, the moving spring of obedience is the hope of propitiating God by the excellence of his life, or the sincerity of his repentance. No two things therefore can be more different in their principles, their motive, and their effects.

Let us figure to ourselves a person, who has hitherto been a stranger to the grace of God in Christ, becoming acquainted with the treasures of Divine mercy revealed in the Gospel. He begins to muse on the frailty of man, to consider his latter end, to ponder on the judgment to come, and to shudder at the bare possibility of his being excluded from heaven. He reflects on his past sins, and trembles. When he remembers how often he has resolved to break off his sins and turn to God, and yet has failed in maintaining his resolution, he grows pale under the conviction of his utter inability to become righteous. His life he perceives to be daily shortening, while his habits of sin are becoming more inveterate. In despair he lifts up his voice to God for mercy. He studies the word of God. He begins to behold a new way of salvation pointed out

to him in its sacred pages. His attention is directed to the extent and spirituality of the Divine law. He reflects also on the extent of Christ's power, the merit of his death, and the efficacy of his atonement and intercession, and begins to be affected by the view of such mercy and love. Heavy laden with sin, and wearied with its burden, and with his endeavours, hitherto vain, to extricate himself from its power, he now commits himself to Christ; and believing his promises, hope springs up in his mind. With tears of mingled penitence and hope, he addresses himself with earnestness and anxiety to the Saviour of sinners, and his prayer is heard. He obtains an increasing measure of light, grace, and consolation. The desires of his heart are turned towards spiritual blessings, and above all towards that Redeemer who purchased them. He loves him; he reverences his name; he venerates his word, his ordinances, his people; he begins to serve God with a free and willing spirit, as his reconciled Father in Christ. He now has peace with God. Through Jesus, he can now rejoice in the hope of the glory of God. He now obeys, from the honourable motives of gratitude and affection. He dreads, above all things, to displease his heavenly Father; and he begins to contemplate with exultation the day when he shall see Him, whom, having not seen, he nevertheless has loved; and in whom, though now he sees him not, yet believing, he rejoices with a joy unspeakable and full of glory.

There appears to be but one objection of any moment to this method of deriving peace with God from our "being justified by faith," rather than from our own righteousness; namely, that it may tend to relax the strictness of our obedience. But, in reply to this objection, it will be sufficient to state, that though our own obedience is not to be the foundation of our peace, it is, nevertheless, to be the guard of it. Take the case of a dutiful son. He entertains a perfect confidence in his affectionate parent. Now this confidence is founded not upon the merit of his own obedience, but on the knowledge he has of his father's character: it is the persuasion of his goodness and love which has produced it. Still, however, obedience is the *guard* of his confidence. Were he to become undutiful, his confidence would be justly shaken, and he would feel that he had forfeited all title to his father's favour. God is the father of believers, their reconciled Father through Jesus Christ. While, therefore, their hearts condemn them not of wilfully continuing in sin, or accuse them of insincerity and hypocrisy in their profession of religion, they have confidence in God. But, if the contrary be the case, they then justly conclude, that, as God cannot be deceived, so must he be displeased by an insincere profession of attachment to him.

It must indeed be allowed, that there are some persons who are sincere in their obedience to God, but who enjoy little peace in religion, and look forward only with apprehension to the day of death. But let such contemplate the glorious grace of the Gospel, and the method of obtaining peace which St. Paul has prescribed. Let them call to mind how all holy men have died; rejoicing in Christ, confiding in his merits, trusting his promises, and disclaiming all self-dependence. Let them hence learn what must be the ground of their peace; faith in Christ, a humble reliance on him who gave himself for the sins of the world. Considerable difficulty may indeed be experienced in overcoming the natural bias of the mind to self-dependence. The scrupulous and the melancholy may also be constitutionally disposed to resist the clearest evidence of their own integrity; but these cases apart, the result of adopting the plan which has been pointed out, may confidently be expected to be an increasing measure of peace with

God, and joy and confidence in him. I do not say that this peace will suffer no interruption. Negligence will not fail to disturb it. A course of vigilant circumspection, of cheerful and unremitting obedience, can alone preserve it from decay. And though the troubles of life, or the state of bodily health, may even in this case affect our peace; yet, on the whole, such a degree of that blessing may be expected, as will remove all disquieting apprehensions respecting our acceptance with God; as will cause us to entertain a confidence in our heavenly Father's wisdom and goodness, and an entire resignation to his will; and will make us, if not joyful, at least tranquil in the prospect of death.

If I have succeeded in the object which I had in view in writing this paper, my readers will perceive that the doctrine of justification by the free grace of God in Christ, through faith, is not an empty speculative doctrine, but one which, when rightly received, is indeed most effective, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to communicate to man all the blessings of salvation.

N. D.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

IT gave me pleasure to observe, in one of the numbers of your miscellany, a letter on a subject that has frequently engaged my serious attention: I mean, the state of the Gypsies. It is painful to reflect how many thousands of these unhappy creatures have, since the light of Christianity has shone on this island, gone into eternity ignorant of the way of salvation, and without one cheering thought of a Saviour. Surely, sir, there is an awful responsibility attached to this neglect.

If we look back into the history of the Christian church, from the earliest ages, we shall find that the introduction of the Gospel amongst any people has generally been effected by means of missionaries: and so numerous are the Gypsies, and so desultory in their habits of life, that it might well occupy the time of more than one zealous individual to go amongst them, and by plain, simple, affectionate conversation and exhortation (when practicable) instruct them in the knowledge of their Redeemer. Nor, in this favoured land, where there are so many who zealously embrace the doctrines of Christianity, would there, I trust, be wanting, both one or more persons who would devote themselves to this truly apostolic work, and benevolent individuals who would open their hearts and their purses for the support and encouragement of such an undertaking. This labour of love would doubtless prove less arduous than the attempts which have been made to establish missions among the American Indians, the natives of the South Seas, or the inhabitants of Southern Africa. The dread of the magistracy in this country would prove a protection from personal injury, while the painful relinquishment of friends and country would not be required.

I will also beg leave to mention another suggestion: I have understood that in different parts of the kingdom the neighbouring clergy meet at stated times, for the purpose of conversing on the important duties of their pastoral office. At such a time, would it not be well to take into consideration the perishing condition of so large a part of the community as that which forms the subject of this letter? Some plan might probably be thus devised, that, through the blessing of the Lord, would prove effectual for the salvation of this outcast and hitherto neglected people. I would also take the liberty of recommending the cause of these unhappy partners of our kind to the humanity of our dissenting brethren; and most earnestly solicit Christians of all denominations to unite in prayer to the God of all grace, that he would

prosper every attempt which may be made to communicate to them the knowledge of his will.

I trust, sir, I shall obtain your excuse for detaining you on this important subject; and as I know your pages are read and valued by real Christians of various denominations, perhaps they may, through the Divine Providence, be the means of exciting effectual attention to the spiritual wants of this deplorable set of beings; and the same benevolence which induced you to exert your talents and influence in behalf of the oppressed negroes, be again successfully employed in ameliorating the condition of a numerous class of our fellow-creatures, who are second only to them in wretchedness and spiritual misery.

I am, &c.,

FRATERNICUS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I PERCEIVE, in "The Admonition to all Ministers Ecclesiastical," prefixed to the second part of the Homilies of our church, the following words: "Where it may so chance some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or holidays *which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification*, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand," &c.

By these words it should seem, that a minister has a discretionary power to use or not to use the Lessons of the Old Testament, as they are appointed to be read on particular days, and to substitute others from the New, which he deems more likely to conduce to the spiritual improvement of his people. It would give me pleasure to be satisfied on this head, as I cannot but think, that there are many Lessons which might occasionally be read with better effect than those which are commonly used.

Has then a minister a right to read in the church a Lesson in the New Testament, instead of the appointed one in the Old? Has he a right to substitute one chapter of the *Old* Testament for another?

An answer to these questions will probably be of service to many others, besides your constant reader,

A "MINISTER ECCLESIASTICAL."

MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE attention of your readers has lately been called to a subject somewhat new, while it is very important. It is indeed a subject that, in some way or other, comes home to every bosom; and as a sort of general invitation has been given for the discussion of it, I shall presume to deliver my opinion, though very ill qualified in comparison with those who have already written upon it. As, however, a few hints, drawn from the observation and experience of twenty years, may lead to a more close and practical investigation of the subject, I shall not, perhaps, be deemed assuming, if I submit them to your judgment.

The inquiry, then, upon which I am about to enter is, "What degree of cultivation should be given to female talents? and what advantages, and disadvantages, may be expected to result from bestowing on young women a liberal education?"

We should first, I think, inquire, What is the great end and design of education? and next, what description of females are intended as the subjects of it?

In respect to the first, it seems to me that the intention of education is to improve the rational powers, and to inform the mind upon all those subjects which are in any way connected with its duties and interests. Now if this definition be a just one, we should, again, inquire, how far these objects would be promoted by giving to women an education that would greatly enlarge the sphere of their intellectual enjoyments, and point to higher objects than those usually allowed to the sex? It must, I think, be admitted, that the pursuits and objects of life, and even many of its duties, are very different in the two sexes. Men are called out to duties and employments which require a higher cast of character. In the *superior* ranks of life, their country may justly make a demand for the exercise of talents, whose usefulness greatly depends upon an enlarged and careful cultivation. In those which are subordinate, there are professional studies or extensive occupations, which perpetually demand an exertion of the intellectual faculties, and to which, therefore, the previous training must be proportioned. A display, too, of the heroic qualities of the mind will be more frequently called for in men than in women, and for this, also, they must be trained and prepared. But the employments and duties of females are widely different from these. It it not to them, in general, that their families must look for pecuniary support; they are not called upon to declaim from the pulpit, nor to plead at the bar; neither are their talents wanted in the senate or at the council-board. Their chief employments are at home. Within the same narrow circle, too, their duties are, chiefly, confined. The education, therefore, of females should point to these two objects: either, to qualify them for making good wives and mothers; or, to enable them to pass through life happily and usefully in a single state. To qualify for each of these, *moral* cultivation is by far the most important, and on this should every improvement of talent be founded. This does by no means so narrow the system as to exclude from it a familiar acquaintance with subjects of general literature, or even with the elementary parts of science; but it would (except in particular cases) exclude them from an acquaintance with the dead languages, and with all that is abstruse in modern ones.

It will not be wholly irrelevant here to inquire, what situation and rank of life women, by the laws of Nature and Providence, seem designed to fill? I am, perhaps, venturing beyond my depth; but it does certainly appear to me that women hold but a secondary rank in the creation, and that this was even designed by their great Creator, perhaps for the preservation of that order which an acknowledged subordination is ever found to produce. The woman was created "*for* the man," and "the man is the head of the woman." So, in after ages, whether it was the mere effect of the despotism of man, the exercise of which was permitted, or whether from some allowed inferiority in the female sex, it has, without dispute, been customary (as your sensible and ingenious correspondent S. G. remarks), "in all ages and countries of the world, to treat women as the occupants, not merely of a secondary, but of a very inferior scale of being." Since, however, "the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," has appeared, this, with all other subjects connected with the moral happiness of man, has been better understood. Christianity is a universal leveller; and while it inculcates the strictest subordination in civil affairs—while it teaches us to pay (so correct, and uniform, and tending to the good of society, are all its precepts) "honour to whom honour is due, and tribute to whom tribute"—it maintains, apart from these distinctions, the most entire equality, and shews that "God is no respecter of per-

sons." This religion, then, has bestowed on women privileges unknown in those countries where it is not professed; and the better the Gospel is understood, the more assuredly will the claims of the sex be admitted. We will now then inquire, how far these claims ought to extend in respect to education, and what description of females are the subjects of it?

To women born in quite the superior rank of life, much may be conceded which will not apply to those in the middle classes of society. It would, indeed, be a most happy change for the nation, if, instead of the examples held out by the nobility, of time wasted in a useless, a senseless, an extravagant dissipation, we were to behold their daughters trained up in the schools of Aristotle and Plato, or qualified to compare the eloquence of the British with the Roman senate. But I apprehend that we are to consider this inquiry as directed chiefly to females in the middle rank of life; to the daughters of such men as have had a liberal education themselves. Taking this for granted, I must first observe, that whatever equality there now appears among persons of this description, there is, in many important points, so wide and essential a difference, as to lay the foundation for great diversity of situation in the succeeding generations of their families. Education must *look forward*; and we should consider what is likely to be the *future* situation of our daughters. It is very possible so to raise the mind above the situation in life which it is destined to fill, or so above the connections which from considerations of prudence, or inclination, it may be desirous to form, as to produce positive unhappiness. There are, also, diversities of another kind, which must be considered before we can decide upon either the *propriety* or the *practicability* of a general *system* of liberal education for females. Few things are more various than the natural talents even of children in the same family. Not merely shall one have a taste for this branch of study, and another for that; but one shall be endowed with a quickness of capacity which brings every thing within its reach, while another (though, perhaps, in the moral qualities of the mind equal, or superior) shall have so little strength of intellect as to attain to nothing *well*, even with very laborious exertion. In the establishment, therefore, of systems by which the interest and happiness of society is affected, we must be careful not to raise one so much above another, as to make the subordinate one contemptible in the eyes of those whose wisdom and virtue it is to be governed by it. Now, I have my doubts whether this might not be the case in bringing the education of females to one general standard, and raising this standard much higher than it has at present reached. I desire, however, in the delivery of this sentiment, to provide for exceptions. Where the natural talents are *much above* the common level, it would be neglecting the gifts of Providence not to bestow upon them a high degree of cultivation. We have some living instances (besides many which may be recollected) of masculine powers in the persons of females. And none who have either religion, virtue, patriotism, or taste, but would lament if the talents of a Mrs. More had not been so cultivated and matured, as to enrich the favoured nation to which she belongs. We are placed here (as well by the wisdom as the will of God) amidst all the varieties of situation, disposition, health, and natural powers. It is indeed one of Nature's miracles (if I may be allowed the expression), that, among the many millions of created human beings, no two have yet been seen exactly alike: entire resemblance is what we never meet with. Amidst all this diversity, it has ever, I believe, been found a most difficult and arduous task to lay down settled rules, or to form

systems, for any but the outward actions of man. And as to education, it seems to me to be the most difficult of all. Societies, families, and individuals of the same family, are not only different from each other in the outset, but they are perpetually changing. I may educate my daughter upon a plan which appears suitable to her present situation in life: she is thrown perhaps into another, where such a mode of intellectual cultivation has no advantages. Yet these varieties, and changes, happen not only by a sort of providential necessity, but are calculated for the exercise of those qualities by which the moral purposes of God in our creation are in a great measure fulfilled.

But perhaps I shall be thought to have assumed too much by these preliminaries. If I have done so, I am very willing to be corrected. However, as they strongly attach to my own mind, I shall unavoidably be influenced by them in the second part of my inquiry; namely, in considering the advantages, and disadvantages, which may be expected to arise to young women and to society, from extending very widely the limits of female education.

The *advantages* are so well stated by S. G., in his cursory remarks in your number for March, that it would be almost presumptuous in me to attempt another description of them. I beg leave, therefore, to refer your readers to these; satisfied, myself, that they contain as inviting a picture as can be drawn, of the probable effects of an enlarged cultivation of the female mind. All I shall do, is to make one observation on S. G.'s remarks. He speaks of a varied education among females: but it appears to me that there is so little variety in the duties and employments of women; and they are so circumscribed in respect to the exercise of those talents which they do possess in common with men; being, moreover, restricted from a *display* of talent, which, until a higher principle is induced, is usually not only the prime mover, but the great encourager of perseverance in the cultivation of it; that, however well the appropriate cultivation of varied talents may sound in theory, to the *practice* there might be found many objections, and it would doubtless meet with many impediments.

I come now to a consideration of the *disadvantages* which may be expected to attend a much more liberal cultivation of female talents; and I shall direct my inquiry to the influence it may have on their *employments*, their *virtues*, and their *happiness*. The employments of women, as connected with their duties, are most of them of a subordinate cast. While men conquer by the energies of their mind, women must *stoop* to conquer. Life, important as it is in the aggregate, is chiefly made up of trifles. In the detail of domestic occurrences, what unimportant matters meet the eye! Yet these must be attended to, or the management is incomplete. Now, though the drudgery of domestic occupation need not engage the females to whom these observations refer, yet a general superintendence of the domestic economy of a family is what, I conceive, they are pledged to attend to. Whether she be married or single, the knowledge of what is going forward becomes every mistress of a family: and an attention to her expenditure is so far from being beneath her, that I conceive every woman is imperiously called upon to regulate her expenses conformably to her own or her husband's income. She should thus act as a joint steward for herself and the poor. Now I rather doubt whether a woman who has been occupied almost exclusively in the pursuit of literary attainments (for so it must be, unless her talents are above the common level); I doubt whether a young woman so educated, would readily bring her mind to attend to these minute, and what would at first appear trivial, concerns. All the lesser charities of

life, too, belong to females: the kind offices of friendship, attention in sickness, consolation in distress. They are, as it were, related to every object with whom they come in contact, if, by such relationship, any useful service can be performed. Here, again, the mind must descend; and time perhaps would reluctantly be spared from enjoyments which are more in unison with those enlarged capacities, by which we become, as it were, related to a higher order of beings.

The *virtues* which females are peculiarly called to exercise, seem to me, too, of an opposite description from those which would be fostered by an intimate acquaintance with the sages of Greece and Rome. Meekness, and modesty, and humility, and diffidence of herself, should be leading features in the character and deportment of every female: but would not there be some danger of exchanging these for arrogance, self-esteem, and vanity, and a sort of rivalship with the other sex, were the sphere of education so enlarged as to give a general acquaintance with the sentiments entertained by the classical writers of antiquity? From the little acquaintance I have had with men of *mere* erudition (for where the religion of the Bible has taken possession of the heart these baneful effects are counteracted), it appears to me that nothing is so difficult to be subdued as the *pride of intellect;* nothing so apt to make us "think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think;" nothing by which the jealous and selfish passions are so readily excited. Where indeed, as I just now hinted, religion goes hand in hand with intellectual improvement, if education could be built on the basis of genuine Christianity, we might raise any superstructure, without danger from either its height or breadth. The delusions of vanity and the incursions of self-love, would be restrained; and we need not apprehend a neglect of the higher branches of duty for those which are subordinate. If pride and competition were roused, there would be a super-induced principle within, equal to the suppression; and the fruits of the Spirit might grow and abound, while the intellectual faculty was both sanctified and improved. In short, religion is the philosopher's stone, which turns all it touches into gold. But as we too well know that education is too frequently prior to the infusion or growth of the religious principle, and that they seldom proceed together, so the question, as to a very enlarged cultivation of female talents, becomes more disputable.

I come now to inquire What influence such a cultivation of the understanding may have upon the *happiness* of those concerned in it? We have seen, in S. G's animated description, what are the pleasures and advantages resulting from such a cultivation of female talents: that it leads to a participation of the intellectual pursuits of the other sex, and produces a sort of mental sympathy, which is of a uniting and an endearing nature. To this I will add, that it would also open a source of self-satisfaction and enjoyment to those women who, from various causes, may not make a connection in marriage. I have always looked upon sensible and amiable women, under such circumstances, as objects of peculiar consideration. We may fairly presume that no young woman would *prefer* a single state: but if, from motives of delicacy, or prudence; if, I will say, she has virtue and hardihood sufficient to bear the sneers of the more successful adventurers in life, rather than connect herself with a man whom she cannot exclusively love, or whom she does not wholly esteem; she is surely entitled to the notice and encouragement of every thinking and well-disposed mind. To a woman thus circumstanced, literary resources are of great consequence; because they not only employ the time, but the mind; and thus serve

as a counteracting principle to any disposition to envy or discontent, which may be produced perhaps, though without being indulged, by viewing the more advantageous situation of her female associates. An unmarried woman, also, has more leisure than is usually afforded by a married life: to her, therefore, the habit and the love of study may be both useful and desirable. Admitting, then, all which is so well said by S. G., I proceed to what I apprehend are the practical disadvantages, as they affect the happiness, of an education so conducted. The arguments which I have before used, to prove that such a mode of education cannot become general without breaking into the *seeming* (and what I believe the *real*) order of Nature and Providence, must here be admitted. The varieties in talent, also, shew the difficulty that would attend it; and the differences in situation, with the perpetual changes which take place in families, mark, I think, the general inexpediency of the plan. If, then, we cannot look to its becoming general, a partial improvement (it is already admitted) will be no improvement at all. I am of the same opinion. There are few things more inimical to individual happiness, than a mind raised much above its outward circumstances. Let persons of refined taste, and a capacity for high intellectual enjoyments, be thrown into a society where none of these are relished, and their knowledge and taste will be a perpetual source of disgust and mortification. Place persons, also, so educated, in situations where active duties are more particularly required, and the bias of the mind towards intellectual pursuits will, I fear, render such duties burthensome. I question, also, whether a near approach, in point of literary attainments, between the sexes, would not beget a rivalship unfavourable to the happiness of both. What is it that renders the social intercourse between them (apart from other considerations) more interesting and agreeable than between persons of the same sex? I imagine that it arises, in part, from the different feelings which are excited towards each other. While a woman looks up with a tender respect to her husband, her father, or her friend, the benevolent affections are excited towards her. An allowed superiority on the one hand, and a cordial desire to render this unfelt on the other, certainly, I think, call into exercise virtues and feelings favourable to that state which, under every varied circumstance, is so constituted as to make large demands on the heart and affections. Family harmony is allowed to be much more promoted by kindly dispositions of the heart, than by the most enlarged powers of the understanding. Talents, *rightly directed*, are, beyond all dispute, the first of blessings both to the possessor and to society; but as nothing is more abused than intellectual gifts and acquirements, and as nothing, when abused, spreads so wide its baneful influence, it becomes an important question, how far we are benefiting society by such a general diffusion of *mere* intellectual knowledge? This, however, is a discussion from which every enlightened mind shrinks; and it makes no part, but by a very remote connection, of my present subject. I shall therefore only remark further, that if talent is oftener abused than properly used (which no considerate person, I believe, will deny), a very serious conclusion follows. It shews to persons, who profess to believe the great truths of Christianity, that it is their indispensable duty to make these truths the basis of all instruction. Religion should be taught *with* every thing, and *in* every thing. And though it is not in the parent, or the instructor, to insure success, yet if we faithfully and perseveringly use the means, we may look with confidence to those promises, which are not to us only, but to *our children*. At least, being found in the way of our duty, we may expect a blessing.

From the observations I have made on human life (though, indeed, my opportunities for these have been few), I should pronounce those the most *happy* persons, who, with the inclination, possess the best talents for being *actively useful to others*. Now the pursuits of literature are not commonly favourable to the use, whatever they may be in some instances to the cultivation, of such talents; they lead, rather, to self-indulgence and to self-importance. The pleasure they afford is certainly of a more refined, and, while it lasts, of a more exquisite kind; but it does not seem to diffuse so much general cheerfulness and satisfaction, as more active pursuits in the sphere of usefulness. And as in the *attainment* of intellectual pleasures, so in the *enjoyment* of them, when attained, a more sedentary course of life is necessary, this might be injurious to the health of females, unless they were taught, at the same time, the *exercises* of boys, and brought up in these, as in other respects, without distinction of sex. But here we should trench upon that modesty and decorum, so indispensably necessary in the education of females.

The above considerations lead me to think, that an education much beyond what is at present allowed the daughters of liberal, enlightened, and pious parents, is not generally practicable; or, if it were practicable, is not, in the present state of society, greatly to be desired. Yet far be it from me to plead for bringing up young women in ignorance, and to neglect the culture of the understanding; far be it from me to recommend an indolent waste of time in trifling pursuits, or, even, that much should be devoted (where the situation does not require it) to the useful employment of the needle. But I think that women may be made pleasing and rational companions to the other sex, without going into those studies which have been so long considered (and this by wise and considerate persons) as the peculiar province of men. Their minds may be sufficiently enlarged to raise them above that insipidity and folly so much complained of, without a knowledge of the learned languages, or a practical acquaintance with the higher branches of literature. Much has been said, and well and justly said, upon the unreasonable portion of time which is now commonly devoted to the acquirement of elegant accomplishments; but, though no considerate parent would sanction such an abuse and misapplication of time, yet I must plead for accomplishments, if brought within certain limitations and restrictions, as innocent amusements, which young women in certain situations may be permitted to enjoy. They tend agreeably to vary the more important business of life, and to diffuse cheerfulness through the domestic circle. They give, also, a grace and a zest to society, which in these situations is becoming and desirable. It seems, however, as if I were pleading for just as much as is now, by universal consent, granted to the sex. And, indeed, I am somewhat surprised that such charges should be brought against females of the present day, as those which are alleged by your correspondents. Young women, I think, appear now to be well informed upon subjects of history, morality, and various parts of useful and elegant literature: a taste for the arts is cultivated by some, and many of the branches of natural philosophy are sufficiently understood to beget in the mind a habit of inquiry: botany is a fashionable study: and, therefore, with an exception of the deeper parts of science and an acquaintance with the dead languages, young women of the present day are, many, perhaps most of them, qualified to converse among themselves, or with the other sex, upon subjects that are neither degrading nor unuseful. But, indeed, I am inclined, with S. G., to think that the fault lies a good deal with the men. Were they decidedly to en-

courage in the weaker sex that cultivation of mind which would bring them nearer upon a level with themselves; were they to shew a decided preference to companionable qualities, over those which merely interest the affections, or please the eye; they would, I am persuaded, see the female character rise in proportion. Women would devote less time to the arts of attraction and the system of display; and men would have less cause to complain of either their moral or intellectual deficiencies.

I am, &c.

April, 1808. MATER.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

IT has ever been considered the privilege of old age to complain of the degeneracy of modern manners, and to extol the superiority of former days. I am not naturally censorious: my disposition has been from my earliest years benevolent and kind: age has neither soured my countenance nor changed my character: the smile of conciliation is ever on my face, and the melody of my voice no time can impair. But the respect which was paid me in youth, is denied to my grey hairs; and in return for all my kindness, I am, in these later times, frequently exposed to the mockery of insult or the coldness of neglect.

It has been my custom for many years, sir, before you were born, to pay regular visits to the inhabitants of every country which professed to treat me with regard. My appearance was the signal for a general holiday: labour was suspended, and a season of rest proclaimed. My power was universal: that part of the creation, which groaneth and travaileth in pain, that it may minister to the comforts and supply the wants of man, welcomed with joy the season of repose; the little tenants of the air seemed to carol more cheerfully their song of exultation; and the whole face of nature was covered with a smile. But the chief object of my regard was man. O sir! had you seen the welcomes which I received! Animation in every eye, and pleasure on every countenance! Hymns of thanksgiving rose upon my ears, and the incense of praise ascended to the sky! My best friends were ready for my approach even before the morning watch; and all who beheld me united to exclaim, "this is the day that the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it."

In the midst of many and continued discouragements, I have still persisted in paying my regular visits, and have still held forth the same allurements and advantages which I proffered at first; but my presence has ceased to impart gratification, and my voice, you would imagine, had lost its charms. If you will inquire in houses of opulence, even where they profess to respect me, you will find my sad story but too fully confirmed. They have seen nothing of me for many a day. I look in at their windows, but their curtains are closed: I wait for hours by their apartments, but they are too drowsy to attend my call. At length they condescend to appear; but my time has expired, and I am gone. Thousands, both in London and the country, have entirely rejected my acquaintance; yet do they continue to speak of me with familiarity, as if I were extremely well known to them, merely because they choose to attach my name to one who comes after me; as the fashionable world acknowledges no winter till January, nor summer till July.

This contemptuous treatment is sufficiently discouraging; but, alas! I am condemned to suffer insult as well as neglect: my holiday charter is in a great measure destroyed, and its articles are violated without excuse or remorse. I will give you two instances, which especially grieve me; for it was ever my character to be the friend of the poor and the protector of the brute creation.

"What means all this trampling of horses and rattling of harness in my ears?" said I to a stable-boy: "do not you know that I have proclaimed a holiday, and that its benefits extends to beasts?" "You may proclaim what you like," said the varlet; "but master will want them to take him to church, and then we must drive missess either in the Park or round the common. Holiday indeed! why this is one of our busiest days: there is scarcely a horse in London unemployed."

Nor am I better satisfied with the violations of my law among the labouring poor; though the fault is not wholly theirs. Formerly they had received their wages, and bought their holiday provisions, long before I appeared; and when I did come, were thus at liberty to receive me, and wholly devoted to my service. But now, in too many instances, their employers can find no time to pay them but the very season of my visit: hence I meet with nothing but paying and receiving, and buying and selling, and distraction and barter of every sort.

O sir! bear with the garrulity of age, and tell me, whether I have not indeed reason to complain. If you have any influence in these degenerate times, you cannot better employ it than in claiming reverence for my person and appearance. The Apostles knew me; and without hesitation I will assert, they sincerely loved me: the early Christians were ever accustomed to receive me with joy: the good and the wise have for many ages been the most cordial of my friends: and no good or wise man will ever regard me, but with pleasure and delight.

I am, sir, your sincere friend,

SUNDAY MORNING.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

As you are a man of learning, you have doubtless heard that the Egyptians once had a language of hieroglyphics; a sort of conundrum method of communicating their notions by pictures and figures, without regular writing. Thus, for instance, a ring might represent matrimony, and a turtle stand for an alderman. I am not versed in the mystery, as you will readily believe, but I was much pleased with their ingenuity, when my uncle told me, the other day, that a dark-lantern was with them the emblem of a man who was silent and dismal, and kept all his learning and information to himself.

You have no idea what quantities of dark-lanterns it has been my misfortune to meet with. I declare, that, in general, if we have six gentlemen to dine with us, three at least are of this description: so long as the ladies remain, not a single ray of intelligence escapes them. Little as they dream of it, I have watched some of them narrowly, and unless I mistake their moping, there are three principal reasons for their taciturnity, none of which redound much to their credit — pride, or idleness, or ignorance. Do not start at the mention of ignorance; for it is not necessary that every dark-lantern should carry light within it.

With specimens I will not trouble you, for you have doubtless found many, but there is one sort of dark-lantern which provokes and puzzles me more than all the rest: I really know not to what class to refer it: It came to our house in the shape of a learned member of the university: it knitted its brows, and it frowned with such dignity, and put on such a quantity of Oxford graces, that I hardly durst venture to plant myself in its neighbourhood. Well, sir, see us at dinner: it ate and it drank like a common mortal; but seemed all the time so totally abstracted from the world, that I concluded it had got at least into the planetary regions. So I said to it; "Pray, sir, when shall we have another comet?" "Humph," it cried. "This, said I to myself, is a proud lantern: it may conceive, like Mahomet, that

women have nothing to do with heaven: let us try it again." "You, have doubtless read Marmion, doctor, and the Lay of the Last Minstrel? My aunt and I do not agree which to prefer: what is your opinion?" "Ha!" said the lantern. Is this, thought I, pride or idleness? I scarcely knew how to assail it next; but on seeing its attention deeply engrossed by a fine hare, which just then made its appearance, I ventured to solicit a little information on the subject of natural history. Another "humph" was the only answer I could obtain; and I now doubted whether it were not an ignorant lantern. Whatever were the cause, a dark-lantern it certainly was; and I was so provoked with it, that, though the moon shone bright at its departure, I could not help running to ask it, Whether John should not carry a light to shew it the way? You cannot think how angry it looked. Now, sir, as you have thought proper to lecture us about the alarming decrease of women, I wish you would say something about the alarming increase of dark-lanterns. Of what use are such articles to the world? In mixt society, I am sure they are of none: are they of service in any other respect? My aunt frequently intimates to me that I talk too much: perhaps I may; but is not cheerful conversation better than none at all? Is not a rush-light which does shine, better than a dark-lantern which cannot? I am, &c.

LÆTITIA LOVELIGHT.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE editor of Charlotte Richardson's poems intreats your indulgence, and that of your readers, whilst she states the occasion of her attempting to publish by subscription a second little volume of the same writer. It was the intention of the young woman herself, in conformity with the advice of her friends, to bid adieu to the Muses, and to give the whole of her mind in future to teaching a school. She had succeeded in obtaining thirty little scholars, at 5s. per quarter; and gave so much satisfaction to the parents, by her judicious treatment, and by the rapid improvement of their children, that no doubt remained of her success, should her health be tolerably re-established, of which there appeared some hope last year, on her return from a visit to a friend in the country, where she had spent the summer holidays. But this flattering hope soon vanished: the close confinement and renewed exertions of her school brought on an increased return of her former complaints; and she was taken so extremely ill the beginning of January last, as to be wholly confined to her bed more than five months, and although now considerably better, is yet unable to sit up longer than two or three hours, at different intervals, in the course of the day.

But it may be objected, what is all this to the public? Are there not many widows in Britain, whom delicacy of constitution may equally disable from procuring a comfortable livelihood? Undoubtedly there may; but the editor would plead, Not one perhaps who, with so few advantages, or rather without any one advantage of a cultivated education, has been capable of the same measure of mental, moral, and religious progress. Often, during the last half year, have her medical and other friends conceived her to be at the point of death; but still was her mind ever actively employed. Unable to read, to increase her little stock of knowledge, or to beguile the tedious hours of pain and languor, she would put down from time to time, with a pencil, in a moment of mitigated suffering, such thoughts as might have presented themselves, whether connected with her own afflicted situation, expressive of gratitude for the kindness of her friends, or suggested by any thing she might hear accidentally of the events that were passing around her. These

little pieces were shewn to the editor; and it was her intention, on the death of the composer, which was then daily expected, to make a selection of them for publication, both as being highly curious and very interesting in themselves, and also for the benefit of her orphan boy, now four years of age. In this design, it is apprehended, there would have been no impropriety, nothing that should have been deemed obtrusive and impertinent; and she hopes, therefore, that it will not be thought so now, although the life of the mother is still spared, her recovery being yet extremely doubtful, and the great expense of a severe illness, indefinitely prolonged, exceedingly distressing.

The editor flatters herself that many of the subscribers to the former little volume, which is now out of print, and which met with so much favour from them and from the public (six hundred copies more than the number subscribed for having been sold), will again come forward to patronize the present *. If she does not deceive herself, they will not repent of their kindness; being persuaded that they will recognize in this second publication the same pious resignation, the same interesting sensibility, the same humility of spirit, which distinguished the first, improved by a greater variety of ideas, and expressed in more correct and appropriate language. They will clearly perceive that the intelligent teacher of little children has possessed greater opportunities for the improvement of original genius, than the lowly cook-maid, educated by the frugal hand of charity.

A specimen of the intended selection will be subjoined; and a subscription opened by Messrs. Johnson, St. Paul's Churchyard; Hatchard, Piccadilly; Mawman, Poultry; and Longman and Co., Paternoster Row.

* The first little volume was so much liked in America, that it has been printed there.

By inserting the above in the next number of your magazine, you will kindly patronize a very afflicted and deserving young woman, and will much oblige

Your humble servant,

York, July 23, 1808. C. CAPPE.

STANZAS,

BY CHARLOTTE RICHARDSON.

Written in May 1808, *when under the pressure of severe disease.*

Month after month its course has run,
Yet still no dawn of hope I see;
No more will health's reviving sun
E'er shine on me.

Cheerless to me the dawn of day,
While sinking 'neath stern sickness' pow'r,
Meridian sun, or ev'ning grey,
Or midnight hour.

For fierce Disease his bow has bent,
And pierc'd me with his keenest dart;
While pain my vital strength has spent,
And chill'd my heart.

Beneath his pow'r, I strive in vain
In balmy rest my eyes to close:
From opium's aid alone, I gain
A short repose.

Oh when will all those sorrows cease,
Whose weight o'erpowers my fainting breast?
When shall this fluttering heart find peace,
And be at rest?

Be still, my soul; with patience wait,
And meekly bear the chast'ning rod:
Remember, all thy suffering state
Is known to God.

Doubt not his care and tender love,
Although his dealings be severe;
Strive by affliction to improve,
And him revere.

What though disease thy days consume,
Soon Death will bring a sweet release,
And thou within the silent tomb
Shalt rest in peace.

Dust unto dust shall there return,
While th' immortal soul shall fly,
By heavenly messengers upborne,
To God on high.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Fragments, in Prose and Verse: by a young Lady, lately deceased: with some Account of her Life and Character, by the Author of "Sermons on the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity." 2d Edit. London: Cadell. 1808. 12mo. pp. 219. Price 6*s*.

WE are reasonably fond of biography, and approve exceedingly the present fashion, by which a deceased author is made the principal contributor to his own history. Yet we agree with Voltaire, that most books are too long; and really are much better pleased with a neat thin duodecimo, such as that now before us, than with the ponderous quartos in which the memory of some celebrated characters has been lately enshrined. Friends indeed, very naturally, suppose, that the rest of the world will feel an equal interest with themselves, in all the letters, critical remarks, odds and ends of poetry, and the like, which they can glean from the cabinet of an admired writer; but they should recollect, that there is so much to be done in the world as well as read, and so much to be read besides biography, that if these massy volumes should multiply, men must either give up reading, or die, like Varro, upon a funeral pyre of quartos. There is no living through it.

——— Ces lugubres gens,
Pour honorer les morts, font mourir les vivans.

We have said that this memoir is given to the world in a neat thin duodecimo; and the relief we felt on first catching a glimpse of its dimensions may perhaps account, in part, for the pleasure with which we afterwards perused it, and the prejudice (if a prejudice it be) which we entertain in its favour. No author is entitled to censure us for the eulogy which we are about to pass on this book, unless he himself has written as small an one. We may have praised him less, but he has plagued us more. Biographers complain that we are ill-natured; but really they have no notion of what reviewers suffer with heaving about their bulky tomes in the dog-days*.

The little volume before us contains some particulars of the life, and various specimens of the writings of Miss Elizabeth Smith†; a young lady whose talents and attainments appear to have been of the very first class, and whose character was as interesting as her genius was extraordinary. The anecdotes of her life are few and unimportant; but there is a certain beauty in their simpleness. They harmonize with the rest of the piece, which is quite unostentatious, without glare or bustle. The excellent and amiable being, towards whom the public eye is now attracted, never sought it for herself. She was contented to live and die in privacy. In the affection of her friends, the cultivation of her talents, and the performance of those duties which belonged to her station in life, she found at once improvement and happiness; nor sought to extend her fame beyond the little circle of those whose tenderness she valued. Her life, therefore, consists only of a few dates, which mark little more than the commencement and close of her career;

Enough, if virtue fill the space between,
Proved by the end of being to have been.

* Our review of Mrs. Carter's Life was censured for severity. Let any man weigh the volume, and judge between us.

† The initial only is given, but the real name is now generally known.

Miss Elizabeth Smith was born in December 1776, at B— in the county of Durham, where her parents then lived in affluence. She was remarkable, in her early years, for a thirst of knowledge, for regularity, and reflection. During her youth, she does not seem to have enjoyed any peculiar advantages, except in the instruction of her mother, who appears, from some letters inserted in this memoir, to possess an elegant and cultivated understanding. In 1785 Mr. and Mrs. Smith removed to Piercefield, a celebrated and romantic seat on the Wye; where in the summer of 1789 Elizabeth became acquainted with the lady who has published this memoir. The title-page only describes her as the "Author of Sermons on the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity;" but these are generally understood to have been written by Mrs. H. Bowdler, of Bath. Notwithstanding the difference in their years, Elizabeth and Mrs. H. Bowdler soon became intimately acquainted; and their friendship only terminated with the death of the former——and let us not say terminated; we would humbly hope that it is but suspended awhile, to be renewed for ever in happier regions. By Mrs. H. Bowdler Miss Smith was introduced to another lady, whose initials only are given us (Miss H.), to whom most of the letters contained in this volume are addressed. In 1793 a bank in which Mr. Smith was engaged failed; and this unexpected stroke at once reduced Elizabeth and her family from affluence to very narrow circumstances. She lost her books, her instruments, and the command of all those elegant comforts and conveniences which are generally found so necessary to the formation of female character. From that time till the summer of 1801, Miss Smith had no certain home. Some part of that period she passed with Mrs. H. Bowdler at Bath; several years were spent in Ireland, where Mr. Smith was quartered, amidst the inconveniences and distractions of military cantonments; and the rest at the houses of friends, or in a hired house on the banks of the Ulswater. Yet it must have been during these years, and under such disadvantages, that Miss Smith acquired that variety and depth of erudition which justly rendered her an object of admiration to all who knew her. After the year 1801, Miss Smith principally resided at a small farm and mansion, which we collect to have been seated among the lakes; where, in the summer of 1805, she caught a cold, which, though at first it seemed trifling, terminated her life on the 7th of August 1806. She was at the time of her death not quite thirty years of age.

Of the force of Miss Smith's genius, and the variety of her attainments, our readers will be able to form some judgment, by the extracts we shall presently make from her writings. In the mean time we subjoin the following summary, which is contained in a letter from Mrs. H. Bowdler, to Dr. Mumssen, given in the appendix.

"The lovely young creature on whose account I first applied to you, had been for above a year gradually declining, and on the 7th of August she resigned her spirit to God who gave it. Her character was so extraordinary, and she was so very dear to me, that I hope you will forgive my dwelling a little longer on my irreparable loss. Her person and manners were extremely pleasing, with a pensive softness of countenance that indicated deep reflection; but her extreme timidity concealed the most extraordinary talents that ever fell under my observation. With scarcely any assistance, she taught herself the French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. She had no inconsiderable knowledge of Arabic and Persic. She was well acquainted with geometry, algebra, and other branches of the mathematics. She was a very fine musician. She drew landscapes from nature extremely well, and was a mistress of perspective. She shewed an early taste for poetry, of which some specimens remain; but I believe she destroyed most of the effusions of her youthful muse, when

an acquaintance with your great poet, and still more when the sublime compositions of the Hebrew bards, gave a different turn to her thoughts. With all these acquirements, she was perfectly feminine in her disposition; elegant, modest, gentle, and affectionate; nothing was neglected, which a woman ought to know; no duty was omitted, which her situation in life required her to perform." pp. 209---211.

It will naturally be asked, by what magic such acquisitions could be gained, at so early an age, and under the disadvantages before described. Doubtless the real magic was that, which resides alone in minds of the first stamp; the magic by which those who might be great subdue the world, and those who really are great direct and improve it. Yet, as in every powerful engine there are many inferior parts concurring to give the principal agent its full energy, so there were certain circumstances and habits which favoured the developement of Miss Smith's extraordinary faculties, and which, if they did not add to their force, at least prevented it from being wasted. The following passages, while they mark the extent of her attainments, explain in some measure her secret of acquiring them.

"When I first saw Miss S---, in the summer of the year 1789, she was only in her thirteenth year, and her extreme timidity made it difficult to draw her into conversation: but even then I saw many proofs of very uncommon talents. We were frequently together during the three following years; either at Piercefield, where Mr. and Mrs. S--- then resided; or at Bath, where Miss S--- and her sisters were often with us. At that time Elizabeth astonished us by the facility with which she acquired information on every subject. She excelled in every thing that she attempted. Music, dancing, drawing, and perspective, were then her chief pursuits, and she succeeded in all; but even at that early age, her greatest pleasure seemed to be reading, which she would pursue with unwearied attention, during so many hours, that I often endeavoured to draw her away from her books, as I feared that such close application might injure her health. She was then well acquainted with the French and Italian languages, and had made considerable progress in the study of geometry, and some other branches of the mathematics. At every period of her life she was extremely fond of poetry." p. 2.

"In a few days after I went to Piercefield, my friends quitted it for ever; and the young ladies spent seven or eight months with us, in and near Bath. The time which was thus spent with my mother, was certainly of great advantage to my young friends; for she was extremely fond of them, and nothing can be more just than what Mrs. S--- says of her peculiarly happy manner of conveying instruction. Many of their favourite pursuits had been interrupted. They had lost the sublime scenes of Piercefield, which furnished an infinite variety of subjects for the pencil. They drew extremely well, and Elizabeth was completely mistress of perspective. Her musical talents were very uncommon: she played remarkably well both on the pianoforte and harp, but she had lost her instruments. The library, of which she so well knew the value, was gone. Always averse to large parties, and with no taste for dissipation, she readily agreed to a plan of employment proposed by my mother, and we entered on a regular course of history, both ancient and modern. At other times we studied Shakespeare, Milton, and some other English poets, as well as some of the Italians. We took long walks, and often drew from nature. We read with great attention the whole of the New Testament, Secker's Lectures on the Catechism, and several other books on the same important subjects. After my mother retired to rest, we usually studied the stars, and read Bonycastle's Astronomy, which reminds me of the following circumstance:---Elizabeth told me one evening that she did not perfectly understand what is said in Bonycastle, page 91, of Kepler's celebrated calculation, by which he discovered that the squares of the periods of the planets are in proportion to the cubes of their distances. She wanted to know how to make use of this rule, but I confessed my inability to assist her. When I came down to breakfast at nine the next morning, I found her with a folio sheet of paper almost covered with figures; and I discovered that she rose as soon as it was light, and by means of Bonycastle's Arithmetic, had learnt to extract the cube root, and had afterwards calculated the periods and distances of several planets, so as clearly to shew the accuracy of Kelper's rule, and

the method of employing it. In such pursuits as I have mentioned, I could accompany her; but in others she had a much better assistant in our mutual friend, Miss H---, who, fortunately for us, spent four months in our neighbourhood, and was the companion of our studies and our pleasures. She led Miss S--- to the study of the German language, of which she was afterwards particularly fond. She assisted her in botanical and other pursuits, as well as in different branches of the mathematics. I do not know when Elizabeth began to learn Spanish, but it was at an earlier period than that of which I am now speaking; when she was with us, she seemed to read it without difficulty, and some hours every morning before breakfast were devoted to these studies. She acquired some knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages during the following winter, when a very fine dictionary and grammar, in the possession of her brother, led her thoughts to oriental literature. She began to study Latin and Greek, in the year 1794, when Mr. C---'s excellent library, and improving conversation, opened to her an inexhaustible fund of information. She studied Hebrew from my mother's Bible, with the assistance of Parkhurst; but she had no regular instruction in any language except French. Her love of Ossian led her to acquire some knowledge of the Erse language, but the want of books made it impossible for her to pursue that study as far as she wished." p. 22---25.

Amid such pursuits and enjoyments, we need not wonder if Miss Smith felt little regret for the loss of affluence. She had only resigned that which thousands enjoyed in common with herself; which, though it may shelter us from some sorrows, can never confer happiness; but she retained her best riches, those faculties and feelings which are the true fountains of enjoyment, and which Providence had bestowed on her with a liberal hand. Poverty neither dimmed her intellect nor chilled her heart; and while her mind was daily occupied with new inquiries after knowledge, her affections were cherished and satisfied with the friendship of those she loved.

It is surely profitable to observe how greatly Miss Smith was indebted for her resources, in the reverse of fortune she experienced, to her early habits of reading and reflection. These fortified her mind, and enabled her, with Religion for her instructress, to form a just estimate of the things which really minister to our happiness. These secured to her friends whose conversation delighted and improved her; whose approbation animated her ardour; whose experience directed her pursuits; and whose tenderness excited, without fear of excess, the most delightful sentiments of our nature. These furnished, through succeeding years, the means of constant occupation; not constrained by necessity, or by a dread of vacancy and restlessness; not limited to a single pursuit, which becomes wearisome from its continued recurrence, and narrows the understanding, even while it quickens the faculties; but always new, always useful; equally fitted for society and solitude, sickness and health, prosperity and misfortune.

We begin our extracts from Miss Smith's writings, by two specimens of her poetical powers. The following stanzas were composed in June 1792.

" The sun, just rising from his wat'ry bed,
Shook from his golden locks the briny drops;
The earth her many-colour'd mantle spread,
And caught the crystal on her flow'rets tops;
While nature smil'd, to see her rising crops
With brighter beauty glow, and richer hues;
As now the night her sable chariot stops,
Each drooping flow'r, refresh'd with morning dews,
Lifts its gay head, and all around its fragrance strews.

So fair the morn, when Emma, fairer still,
Left the lone cottage, now her sole retreat;

And wander'd musing o'er the neigh-
b'ring hill,
With downcast eyes, which weeping
look'd more sweet.
Down to the vale she turn'd her trem-
bling feet;
There, in the middle of a shady wood,
O'erhung with trees, which branch to
branch did meet,
Glided a gentle stream, where, as it
stood,
Each bough its image shew'd in the clear
glassy flood.

Here paus'd the nymph, and on the
bank reclin'd,
'Neath a large oak fann'd by each gen-
tle gale;
She swell'd the brook with tears, with
sighs the wind,
And thus her melancholy fate 'gan wail.
And ye, who read her sad and mourn-
ful tale,
Oh! drop one tender sympathetic tear!
Think that the best of human kind is
frail,
Nor knows the moment when his end is
near;
But all sad Emma's hapless fate must fear.

'How fair each form, in youthful fan-
'cy's eyes,
'Just like the tender flow'rs of bloom-
'ing May;
'Like them in all their beauty they
'arise,
'Like them they fade, and sudden die
'away.
'We mourn their loss, and wish their
'longer stay,
'But all in vain;—no more the flow'rs
'return,
'Nor fancy's images divinely gay!
'So pass'd my early youth; then in
'its turn
'Each fancied image pleas'd; for each at
times I burn.

'How charming then o'er hill and vale
'to stray,
'When first the sun shot forth his morn-
'ing beam;
'Or when at eve he hid his golden ray,
'To climb the rocks, and catch the last
'faint gleam;
'Or when the moon imbru'd in blood
'did seem,
'To watch her rising from the distant
'hill,
'Her soft light trembling on the azure
'stream,
'Which gently curl'd, while all beside
was still;
'How would such scenes my heart with
'admiration fill!

'But now, alas! these peaceful days
'are o'er;
'Fled like the summer breeze that
'wakes the dawn,
'Wafts spicy odours swift from shore
'to shore,
'And gathers all the fragrance of the
'lawn;
'Yet ere his noon-day crown the sun
'adorn,
' 'Tis past, 'tis gone; no more the
'scorching plains
'Can shew *where* blew the gentle breath
'of morn;
'The brook, the cattle, and the shep-
'herd swains,
'All seek the shade;—but peace for
'Emma none remains!' " p. 3.

This, surely, is a very extraordinary performance for a girl of fifteen. The first, second, and fifth stanzas are inferior only to the very best in the Castle of Indolence; a poem which contains more true delicacy and perfectness of composition, than any other of equal length in our language. The whole is rather in the style of Thomson than Beattie. It is truly surprising to find so much richness of imagination, chastized, almost in childhood, by such exquisite taste and so correct a judgment: but Miss Smith appears to have "borne the blossom and the fruit at once." The canzonet which follows is styled "Song from afar," and is taken from a German poem by Matthison. We think it even superior in its kind to the last.

" When in the last faint light of ev'ning
A smiling form glides softly by,
A gentle sigh its bosom heaving,
While thou in oaken grove dost lie;
It is the spirit of thy friend,
Which whispers—'All thy cares shall
end.'

When in the mild moon's peaceful twi-
light
Foreboding thoughts and dreams
arise,
And at the solemn hour of midnight
Paint fairy scenes before thine eyes;

The poplars give a rustling sound,—
It is my spirit hovers round.

When, deep in fields of ancient story,
Thou hang'st enraptur'd o'er the page
That gives and takes the meed of glory,—
Feel'st thou a breath that fans thy rage?
And does the trembling torch burn pale?—
My spirit drinks with thine the tale.

Hear'st thou, when silver stars are shining,
A sound as Eol's harp divine,
Now the wild wind full chords combining,
Now softly murm'ring — 'Ever thine!'
Then careless sleep,—to guard thy peace,
My watchful spirit ne'er shall cease."

p. 85.

This little volume does not contain any great number of Miss Smith's letters. We collect that Mrs. H. Bowdler was her principal correspondent; but, either from delicacy or some other cause, most of the letters to her are suppressed. Those which are printed were evidently composed without the least idea of publication. They are written without effort, betray not the least vanity, generally relate to books, but are sometimes on miscellaneous topics; with no very striking features of excellence, yet such as few could have furnished. Take the following specimens.

"*London, Feb.* 1795.

"I believe I told you I should learn Latin before I saw you next, and Shirley was a very good place for it, I therefore began soon after I went there; and I have read Cæsar's Commentaries, Livy, and some volumes of Cicero, amongst which I almost wish the letters to his friends had not been, for they shew his whole character to be so much *put on*, that they have let him down many degrees in my opinion. As to Persian, all my books are at Bath, so that I shall most probably forget the little I knew when I saw you last. I have met with neither German nor Spanish books; so that if it were not for Latin, I should be quite in despair. I am very impatient to begin Virgil.

"*March* 11, 1795.

"I have just finished the second book of the Georgics, and was particularly delighted with the last eighty four verses. The description of the storm in the first book I think is very fine."

"*Shirley, July* 28, 1795.

"I think as you do of Emilia Galotti. Die Räuber I never saw. Indeed I have scarcely read any German or Spanish since I left Bath. I must tell you that I cannot help being quite reconciled to Cicero. I have gone through all that I can find here of his works, and am so fully persuaded that a man who could write as he does, could have no *great* faults, that I must, with your leave, forgive his *little* ones. If you have not yet met with it, only read, as a sample, the first book of his Tusculan disputations, 'de contemnenda morte,' and I think you will agree with me, that with the addition of Christianity to confirm his suppositions, and rectify a few mistakes in them, and the knowledge of the true state of the universe, no doctrine can be more perfect than his; and that half the modern books on the subject might have been spared, had the writers of them, before they began, read this dialogue.

"I have just finished Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, which Miss B--- long ago desired me to read. It is extremely interesting and instructive. Here is another of her favourites, Spencer, which I once gave up in despair, but which I am very glad I have read, for I am charmed with it, and I think some of the lesser poems are even superior to the Fairy Queen. We have read Mr. Gisborne's book * aloud, and all the party was extremely pleased with it.

"I have got a new atlas of all the remarkable fixed stars that are visible to us, without the figures. I would shew it to you, if you would meet me on the wings of Pegasus, or any other convenient place you will appoint in the upper regions, for it does not seem probable that we should soon see each other in these below. Have you read Horace yet? Pray do not lose a moment; he is indeed delightful."

"*Shirley, October* 5, 1795.

"I have not seen Gellert. Oberon I have read, and was much pleased with some parts of it. It is a little in the style of Ariosto. Pray tell Miss --- (since she

* On the Duties of Man.

does me the honour to enquire), that of Spencer's lesser poems I was most pleased with Astrophel, some of the Eclogues, particularly January and June, and the Hymn in honour of beauty, which is as well written as if he had studied Lavater. I have just finished Froissard, which, though rather tedious, I found very entertaining, and in a much pleasanter style than most of the modern French writers. Immediately before this great undertaking, I read the Memoirs of Petrarch, which made a very good line of history, containing the whole of the fourteenth century. With this book I was excessively pleased. It is impossible not to love Petrarch, if it were only for crying when his father threw Cicero and Virgil into the fire. He was a passionate admirer of Cicero, and I think a strong resemblance may be traced between their characters, though the circumstances in which they lived were so different. You see in both the same love of glory, the same patriotism, the same high opinion of himself, which he endeavours to conceal from others, perhaps even from himself, by a cloak of humility. You discover in each an equal warmth of friendship; and I cannot help thinking that if Cicero had met with Laura, or Petrarch been consul in the flourishing times of the Roman republic, the former would have been the poet, and the latter the orator. I hope I have improved a little in botany this summer as well as you." p. 30---34.

Miss Smith was at this time just turned of eighteen!

Here is a letter in a different style.

Conway, July 10, 1798.

"We are grown such vagrants that it is not without many fruitless efforts that I sit down to write, even to you. I believe you will not doubt that my inclination makes that a lighter task than if I were addressing myself to any one else; but I am afraid, if we stay much longer amongst these delightful scenes, I shall grow completely and irrecoverably idle. It is not so with you, I dare say; you are studying hard, and enjoying peace, quietness, and leisure, in your comfortable little retreat. I believe I should envy you, if I were not where I am. I often recollect how we all *groaned* together at Bath, at the idea of the unpleasant summer we expected to pass in our different lots; and comparing that idea with the happiness we actually enjoy, (of which from our want of confidence we were so particularly undeserving), I determine never again to be *anxious* about any thing; persuaded that all events are much better disposed than if *I* had the management of them. You will think I am beginning to philosophise, because there is nothing at present to disturb me; but indeed I expect a very great misfortune. I will not think of it beforehand, nor complain if it happen; this is all my philosophy can do.

"And now you must mount your old friend Pegasus, and go with me to the top of Snowdon to adore the rising sun. If you think your steed will not be tired, you may as well meet me at Caernarvon at five o'clock in the evening of the seventh of last month. You know present, past, and future, are all one to your *nine friends.* Meet me then at Caernarvon, go with me into the Castle, ramble with me through dark passages without end or number, many more than I had time to go into, for there are galleries leading all round the walls, and round every tower, lighted only by small slits, in a wall twelve feet thick, for shooting arrows; so that many hundred soldiers might be employed in defending this castle, and be visible neither without nor within. Ascend with me the Eagle Tower, and count if you can the number of steps, for indeed I forgot to reckon, and having no book of travels from which to extract a journal, I cannot tell you. Hear Mr. C---, the barber, our *cicerone*, very learnedly refute the opinion of Mr. Pennant, that Edward II. was born in a little dark shabby room in the tower, and establish his own, that that event certainly took place in the large circular room on the first floor; acknowledging at the same time that the nurse might possibly retire occasionally with the child into Mr. Pennant's room. Come on into another little room, and if you choose to be remembered amongst fools, write your name upon the planks which still remain. Hear a long account from Mr. C—, of a boy being let down to the bottom of one of the towers, where there is water, to fetch up a dog that had been thrown there, and discovering an iron grate, through which he saw a subterraneous passage never yet explored; and hurry away from the Castle, wishing to spend days and weeks in examining it." p. 61—63.

Our limits forbid us to insert a letter, which immediately follows,

describing the ascent of Snowdon, which Miss Smith, though deserted by her fellow travellers, had the courage to undertake and accomplish alone. This is the longest and best letter in the collection. The description is given with great accuracy, simplicity, and spirit, and would make an excellent study for our modern tourists. We were peculiarly pleased with the features of character that break forth at every line--energy, ardour, contempt of danger, vigour of fancy, closeness of observation.

We could wish to have seen more of Miss Smith's letters, even though this memoir had been swelled into an octavo. If Mrs. H. Bowdler is in possession of her correspondence, we do not say she ought to publish it, but really we should like exceedingly to read it. The letters of intelligent women are generally very interesting; they have a facility and fineness of finish that is quite captivating. They come, too, immediately from the heart; for female friendship is very confidential; and there is more play of ideas in them, than is common in set compositions. Gentlemen, we think, are poor performers in this way, Cicero and Cowper always excepted. Habits of business seem to stiffen their understandings; and almost all of them, notwithstanding their professions of openness and sincerity, throw a cloak around them, and deal with their friends as if they were one day to become their enemies.

By far the most striking parts of this memoir are the reflections, by Miss Smith, on various subjects, which were found among her papers after her death. We have room only for a few specimens, which are taken pretty much at hazard.

"Humility has been so much recommended, and is indeed so truly a Christian virtue, that some people fancy they cannot be too humble. If they speak of humility towards God, they are certainly right; we cannot, by the utmost exertion of our faculties, measure the distance between Him and us, nor prostrate ourselves too low before Him; but with regard to our fellow-creatures, I think the case is different. Though we ought by no means to assume too much, a certain degree of respect to ourselves is necessary to obtain a proportionate degree from others. Too low an opinion of ourselves will also prevent our undertaking what we are very able to accomplish, and thus prevent the fulfilment of our duty; for it is our duty to exert the powers given us, to the utmost, for good purposes; and how shall we exert powers which we are too humble-minded to suppose we possess? In this particular, as in all others, we should constantly aim at discovering the truth. Though our faculties, both intellectual and corporeal, be absolutely nothing compared with the Divinity, yet when compared with those of other mortals they rise to some relative value, and it should be our study to ascertain that value, in order that we may employ them to the best advantage; always remembering that it is better to fix it rather below than above *the truth*.

"It is very surprising that praise should excite vanity; for if what is said of us be true, it is no more than we knew before, and cannot raise us in our own esteem; if it be false, it is surely a most humiliating reflection, that we are only admired because we are not known, and that a closer inspection would draw forth censure, instead of commendation. Praise can hurt only those who have not formed a decided opinion of themselves, and who are willing, on the testimony of others, to rank themselves higher than their merits warrant, in the scale of excellency." p. 101—103.

"Study is to the mind what exercise is to the body: neither can be active and vigorous without proper exertion. Therefore if the acquisition of knowledge were *not* an end worthy to be gained, still study would be valuable on its own account, as tending to strengthen the mind; just as a walk is beneficial to our health, though we have no particular object in view. And certainly, for that most humiliating mental disorder, the wandering of the thoughts, there is no remedy so efficacious as intense study."

"An hour well spent condemns a life. When we reflect on the sum of improvement and delight gained in that single hour, how do the multitude of hours already past rise up and say, what good

has marked us? Would'st thou know the true worth of time, *employ one hour.*"

"To read a great deal would be a sure preventive of much writing, because almost every one might find all he has to say, already written."

"A woman must have uncommon sweetness of disposition and manners to be *forgiven* for possessing superior talents and acquirements." p. 106, 107.

We do not quite agree with the last observation. A woman, without sweetness of disposition and manners, would not be agreeable, with the wit of Moliere and the knowledge of Bacon; but we do not think she is the less agreeable for her talents and acquirements. It must be remarked, too, that softness of demeanour, however pleasing, is the natural resource of weakness. Women of strong characters are apt to neglect it, as powerful nations disdain the arts of diplomacy. This, perhaps, is unwise. Certain at least it is, that true benignity of disposition is recommended, to both sexes, by prudence as well as religion; for, after all, admiration is a wretched substitute for affection. It provides no fund of happiness for the future: it allows, therefore, of no repose. Till we drop into the grave, there must not be a moment's remission of effort and energy; for the tribute which is exacted by force, by force only can be retained. But affection, willingly yielded because free, and willingly cherished because the sentiment is delightful, lives and acts without stimulants, gathers strength with years, can survive the decay of those qualities which first excited it, and sheds a mild lustre round the path of life, which, without dazzling, warms, cheers, enlightens, animates, and directs us.

There is much truth in the ensuing reflection.

"It is not learning that is disliked in women, but the ignorance and vanity which generally accompany it. A woman's learning is like the fine clothes of an upstart, who is anxious to exhibit to all the world the riches so unexpectedly acquired. The learning of a man, on the contrary, is like hereditary rank, which having grown up with him, and being in a manner interwoven with his nature, he is almost unconscious of possessing it. The reason of this difference is the scarcity of the commodity amongst females, which makes every one who possesses a little, fancy herself a prodigy. As the sum total increases, we may reasonably hope that each will become able to bear her share with a better grace." p. 108.

We recommend the following sentiment to the consideration of some of our religious friends.

"To be good and disagreeable, is high treason against virtue." p. 109.

Here are two others;

"A happy day is worth enjoying, it exercises the soul for heaven." p. 110.

"Happiness is a very common plant, a native of every soil; yet is some skill required in gathering it; for many poisonous weeds look like it, and deceive the unwary to their ruin." p. 112.

There is more wisdom in both these observations than at first may strike us. When the spirits are gay and the heart light, the performance of all the common duties of life is easy. On the contrary, distress naturally generates dejection and indolence, too often asperity and stubbornness. We are persuaded, therefore, that one of the most promising methods of improving the spiritual condition of our fellow-creatures, is to begin with their temporals. It is not enough that we are charitable to the souls of men: they are so much the creatures of circumstances, that he who supplies their wants, and soothes their sorrows, may thereby as truly furnish them with the means of salvation, as if he preached or expounded the Holy Scriptures. The concerns of this world seem trifling when our thoughts are on eternity; but

"These little things are great to little men;"

and if, like our heavenly Master, we would turn many to righteousness, like him we must feed the hungry and heal the broken-hearted.

The second reflection contains a store of thought which we have not room to display. Suffice it to observe, that a great part of the discipline of life consists in the sad experience by which we learn how erroneous are our first judgments respecting the sources of felicity. Nothing perhaps, in the natural order of things, so much disposes us to resign ourselves wholly to God, and believe that he alone can discover to us the true path of peace, as this feeling conviction of our mistakes in the pursuit of it. It is one of the most singular phænomena in the world, that so few are the wiser for their failures.

We fear that we have been rather too moderate in our extracts from Miss Smith's reflections, and too prodigal of our own. Many of Miss Smith's thoughts, which we must leave unnoticed, are raised on a large basis of elemental truth, and indicate great comprehension as well as originality of understanding. Some of them would do honour to Paschal. It is plain, indeed, notwithstanding the vigour of Miss Smith's imagination and the surprising accuracy of her memory, that reason was the presiding power of her mind, and swayed, though with mild authority, the intellectual sceptre.

We pass the translations from the Hebrew, because it would require much more research than it is in our power to bestow to judge of their value; and also Miss Smith's critique upon Locke, because we should have more to say than any body would like to read. We must, however, express our amazement at the testimony borne by Dr. Magee to Miss Smith's translation of the book of Job. We do not question its accuracy, for any thing is credible of this extraordinary young woman; but we do venture to affirm, that if the doctor is himself as profound in Hebrew as we believe him to be, and if his judgment has not been biased by the partiality of friendship, this performance is as great a prodigy in literature as the world ever witnessed. We trust Mrs. H. Bowdler will not allow any slight obstacles to prevent its publication; but at last afford us a hope of understanding something of the train of argument pursued through that sublime and profound composition.

We think the imitation from Ossian might have been omitted. It is long, and somewhat heavy. Miss Smith, like many others, was a more passionate admirer of the Gaelic bard, during her youth, than when her judgment was matured. The authors of Ossian have seized, and presented to the mind with great vividness, those images which a mountainous region and rude state of society furnish. These are often highly solemn and striking; but to oppose a production formed from such materials to the master-pieces of ancient and modern genius, is to compare a ridge of Caucasus to the continent of Asia.

We trust that all our readers will ere this have felt anxious to ask, whether Miss Smith's religious sentiments and attainments were such as should belong to so elevated a character. We shall endeavour to satisfy these inquiries by some further extracts from her writings. The following minute bears date January 1, 1798. It was written by Miss Smith at the end of a pocket-book, which contained some part of the reflections given in the memoir. The writer was then just one-and-twenty.

"Being now arrived at what is called years of discretion, and looking back on my past life with shame and confusion, when I recollect the many advantages I have had, and the bad use I have made of them; the hours I have squandered, and the opportunities of improvement I have neglected;—when I imagine what with those advantages I ought to be, and find myself what I am;—I am resolved to endeavour to be more careful for the future, if the future be granted me; to try to make amends for past negligence, by employing every moment I can command to some good purpose; to endeavour to acquire all the little knowledge that human nature is capable of on earth,

but to let the word of God be my chief study, and all others subservient to it; to model myself, as far as I am able, according to the Gospel of Christ; to be content while my trial lasts, and when it is finished to rejoice, trusting in the merits of my Redeemer. I have written these resolutions to stand as a witness against me, in case I should be inclined to forget them, and to return to my former indolence and thoughtlessness, because I have found the inutility of mental determinations. May God grant me strength to keep them!" p. 57.

Among the reflections there are many which breathe strongly a spirit of humility, dependence, and devotion. We see indeed in almost all of them a mind deeply impressed with the value of religion, and vanity of worldly things. The following are peculiarly striking.

"The Christian life may be compared to a magnificent column, whose summit always points to heaven. The innocent and therefore *real* pleasures of this world are the ornaments on the pedestal; very beautiful, and highly to be enjoyed when the eye is near, but which should not too long or too frequently detain us from that just distance, where we can contemplate the whole column, and where the ornaments on its base disappear."

"The cause of all sin is a deficiency in our love of God. If we really loved Him above all things, we should not be too strongly attached to terrestrial objects, and should with pleasure relinquish them all to please him. Unfortunately, while we continue on earth, our minds are so much more strongly affected by the perceptions of the senses than by abstract ideas, that it requires a continual exertion to keep up even the remembrance of the invisible world."

"When I hear of a great and good character falling into some heinous crime, I cannot help crying, 'Lord, what am I, that I should be exempt? O preserve me from temptation, or how shall I stand, when so many, much my superiors, have fallen?'" p. 104.

Again:

"Perhaps there is nothing more difficult to guard against than the desire of being admired, but I am convinced that it ought never to be the *motive* for the most trifling action. We should do right, because it is the will of God; if the good opinion of others follow our good conduct, we should receive it thankfully, as a valuable part of our reward; if not, we should be content without it." p. 89.

"Hope without foundation is an *ignis fatuus;* and what foundation can we have for any hope, but that of heaven?"

"Great actions are so often performed from little motives of vanity, self-complacency, and the like, that I am more apt to think highly of the person whom I observe checking a reply to a petulant speech, or even submitting to the judgment of another in stirring the fire, than of one who gives away thousands." p. 109.

Such, among others, are the indications of piety which Miss Smith's writings furnish; and we are happy in being able to confirm the hopes they excite by the testimony of her friend. The extract is from a letter written by Mrs. H. Bowdler in September 1806.

"But the part of her character on which I dwell with the greatest satisfaction, is that exalted piety, which seemed always to raise her above this world, and taught her, at sixteen years of age, to resign its riches and its pleasures almost without regret, and to support with dignity a very unexpected change of situation.—For some years before her death the Holy Scripture was her principal study, and she translated from the Hebrew the whole book of Job, &c. &c. How far she succeeded in this attempt I am not qualified to judge; but the benefit which she herself derived from these studies must be evident to those who witnessed the patience and resignation with which she supported a long and painful illness, the sweet attention which she always shewed to the feelings of her parents and friends, and the heavenly composure with which she looked forward to the awful change which has now removed her to a world, 'where (as one of her friends observes) her gentle, pure, and enlightened spirit will find itself more at home than in this land of shadows.'" &c. &c. p. 211.

This goodness seems to us of a very genuine kind. Miss Smith's religion, it must be remembered, was not raised in the hot-bed of controversy, nor trained up in the

nurseries and forced soil of a party. It grew freely and abroad; watered only by the dews and rains of heaven. It was less the offspring of feeling than reflection. It was rather solid than shewy. It taught her seriousness and humility, kindness, resignation, and contentment. It sustained her through the trials of life, and cheered her dying hours.

We must add yet one testimony more to the merits of Miss Smith. It is taken from a copy of verses written by T. W., a quaker, upon her death, and full of genuine feeling.

"Though rich in intellect, her powers of thought
In youth's prime season no distinction sought;
But ever prompt at *duty's* sacred call,
She oft in silence left the social hall,
To trace the cots and villages around,
No cot too mean where misery might be found.
How have I seen her, at the humblest shed,
Bearing refreshment to the sick man's bed:
His drooping spirits cheer'd, she from his door
Return'd, amid the blessings of the poor." p. 207.

Farewell, happy maid!

The living honour'd thee, and, being dead,
With funeral praises do adorn thy tomb.

The author of this memoir has been more studious to display her subject than herself. The *setting* only belonged to her; and it is executed with taste and judgment. There is a letter in the appendix, written to Miss Smith at the time of her confirmation, which we earnestly recommend to the perusal of every young female.

Our readers perhaps, knowing how little we are accustomed to flatter, may feel some surprise at the spirit of eulogy prevailing through this article. Let it be recollected, that she whom we have freely praised is deaf to our praises. We are slow to commend a living author, lest applause, however worthless, should feed or awaken vanity. In general, we think we render him a service more valuable, though equally unwelcome perhaps to him and to ourselves, by plainly announcing his defects. But to posthumous merit we can do justice without fear; and the office of commendation is delightful.

We cannot close this article without adding a few reflections which the perusal of it has suggested.

It is not, we think, enough considered, how important the cultivation of the mind must be to every female, with a view to her personal independence.

Why are single women regarded (by the inconsiderate multitude at least) as in some measure unfortunate? 'They are weak and unprotected.' But, in these days of security and refinement, when does weakness provoke injury? Or if protection be needed, they, as well as others, have parents, relatives, and friends. Above all, opinion has thrown its shield around them, guarding them from wrong by the infamy to which those are deservedly consigned who have the cowardice to insult them.—'They are excluded from the endearments of domestic tenderness.' But how dearly is the hope of such blessings purchased by thousands! How many are made wretched, beyond all names of wretchedness, by the coarseness, or narrow prejudices, or ill-regulated tempers of husbands, whom they selected, not in the folly of youthful fondness, but with all the cold and cautious deliberation of riper years! How many a hapless girl has thrown herself into the arms of a ruffian, whose tenderness expired at the altar! How many has parental tyranny violently united to those from whom their hearts recoiled! How many, nursed in luxury and softness, have sacrificed prudence to generous affection, and embracing poverty with eagerness, have inconsiderately subjected themselves for life to evils of which they

little knew the bitterness! — 'Single women are solitary.' They may be so, if they please. If they are ignorant and unaccommodating, they must. It is, in part, to prevent this necessity, that intellectual improvement is recommended. Yet in this country, at least, society is easily purchased; and they must be very weak, or very unhappy, who dread to pass some hours of each day in privacy.

Oh! lost to reason, lost to manly thought,
Lost to the noblest sallies of the soul,
Who deem it solitude to be alone.

We must repeat then the question, Why are single women generally considered as unfortunate?— We think this may, in part, be owing to the impertinence of men, who are always pleased with the idea that the sex is dependent on them for happiness, and repeat the boast till they learn to believe it. But doubtless the main reason is this, that the education of women has always been formed in a narrow mould, and exclusively with a view to marriage. The object has been to please the men, not to provide for happiness without them. Thus, in elder days, when our fathers were poor and frugal, an acquaintance with the arts of domestic economy was the first branch of female learning. Every young lady was early instructed in the mystery of compounding custards and clearing jellies, and admitted (on arriving at years of discretion) to all the family secrets of the store-room. In the gradual advancement of society, wealth increased, and ease succeeded; a taste for amusement was acquired; habits of mixed company and conversation became general; and the fashion of female attainments changed with the times. It was no longer sufficient to be a good housewife. Men were grown fastidious: they were idle, and wanted to be amused: they were vain; and if they united themselves to women, expected to find them possessed of acquirements which might command admiration. Those arts were soon discovered to be the most attractive, which, while they entertained men in their hours of gaiety, were shewy enough to suit well the growing rage for dissipation and applause; and what was once discovered to be attractive, soon became universally cultivated. Such, we fear, is the natural history of female education; and such the reason why the acquisition of those graces which are commonly called accomplishments, now too generally occupies almost all that period of life which should be devoted to form the character, discipline the understanding, and rectify the heart.

But we must guard these observations. Though the system, we are persuaded, has owed its origin to the causes above mentioned, he must be equally ignorant and insolent who can suppose, that all who yield to the fashion of the age are actuated by the motives which gave it birth. When any thing is become general, and opinion adjusted to it, it is necessary, in some measure, to drop down with the current, though the degree in which this acquiescence is proper may be a matter of very nice consideration. Many girls, whose hours are dedicated to accomplishments, never dream of pleasing the male boobies that surround them. They desire only to excel in those arts which the world calls excellent, without possessing the means of inquiring whether there may not be others more worthy of their regard.

We must not forget too, that the accomplishments now in fashion, though greatly over-estimated, and pursued to the neglect of far nobler attainments, do possess an intrinsic worth. Their value is not purely conventional. They favour elegance; and elegance is far better than coarseness. They furnish occupation; and occupation, even without improvement, is far better than lassitude.

But these solitary accomplishments, while they increase but little the chances of marriage, are a

scanty provision indeed for celibacy. Few women spend much time at their instruments after they are thirty; drawing sometimes lasts longer; and both, doubtless, in their measure, are acquisitions of no mean importance. But, surely, it is perfectly evident that neither one nor both, nor fifty similar graces, are suited to occupy the life of a rational and immortal being. Is it not also equally clear, that she who has been educated only for one state of life, must be ill prepared to find her happiness in another?

We repeat, that the sex sacrifice their independence to their present course of education. A foolish dread of single life has been the source of this mischief; and, in the natural progress of error, the evil which was at first ideal, has in some degree realized itself. While women are taught any thing, and every thing, except to read, inquire, and reflect, single life is and will be sorrowful. But let their minds be disciplined by active exertion and stored with useful knowledge, and happiness, we will venture to predict, almost as vivid, and far more secure, than connubial felicity, will be found attendant on a state, to which not melancholy, but peace, freedom, and safety, naturally belong. Good matches are not very common; and we quite agree with the Italians, that "bad company is worse than none:"

"E'meglio andar solo, che mal' accompagnato."

These sentiments, we fear, will not be popular with our readers of either sex. Yet let us not be the slaves of opinion, unless opinion is truth.

Without pressing these topics further, we are safe at least in saying, that Miss Smith's life offers a striking example of the *general* advantages of intellectual improvement among women. That her talents and attainments were extraordinary, no one will deny; yet it is equally clear that she was amiable. To be lovely then, it is not necessary to be trifling. Her time must have been greatly devoted to study; yet was she perfectly feminine: "nothing was neglected; there was a scrupulous attention to all the minutiæ of her sex; for her well-regulated mind, far from despising them, considered them as a part of that system of perfection at which she aimed." p. 179. In a reverse of fortune, almost sufficient to have soured the most benign and to have depressed the most aspiring spirit, she was cheerful, animated, and happy. Though deprived of riches and every external means of communicating pleasure, she preserved and improved the friendships of brighter days. Amid the distractions of an unsettled life, and some of the inconveniences of dependence, her mind was tranquil, her curiosity unabated, her resources ever new and multiplying. Above all, she found in reflection and knowledge the path to true wisdom. Her extensive learning only humbled her more and more under a sense of weakness and ignorance; and her depth and justness of thought gradually raised her heart from earth to heaven, and, convincing her of the vanity of all worldly pursuits and attainments, taught her to seek true wisdom and perfect happiness in Him from whom they flow, and in whose presence only they shall be found.

The path to peace is virtue: what we shew,
Thyself may freely on thyself bestow.
Fortune was never worshipp'd by the wise,
But, set aloft by fools, usurps the skies.

Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley.

(*Continued from p.* 451.)

We have brought down our account of Dr. Priestley to the time when he published his great work, entitled "History of the early Corruptions of Christianity." Of the controversy to which this work gave

rise, we find in p. 99 the following account:

"I am now engaged in a controversy of great extent, and which promises to be of considerable consequence, relating to the person of Christ. This was occasioned by my 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity,' which I composed and published presently after my settlement in Birmingham; the first section of which being rudely attacked in the Monthly Review, then by Dr. Horsley, and afterwards by Mr. Howes, and other particular opponents, I undertook to collect from the original writers the state of opinions on the subject in the age succeeding that of the Apostles, and I have published the result of my investigation in my 'History of early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ, in four volumes octavo.' This work has brought me more antagonists; and I now write a pamphlet annually in defence of the unitarian doctrine against all my opponents."

The first of these works, which appeared in 1782, was intended originally but as a conclusion to his Institutes of natural and revealed Religion. Finding, however, his matter increase before him, and his friends demanding a large discussion of so important a subject, it swelled into two volumes octavo: to which his name, respectable in other things, very soon called the attention of the public. The great object of his work was to make it appear that a regular and rapid deterioration of Christian truth took place immediately subsequent to the apostolic times. Beginning with the admission of Platonists into the Christian communion, which happened early in the second century, it exhibited (according to Dr. Priestley) an instance more than usually illustrative of the position of the poet:

"Omnia fatis
In pejus ruere, et retro sublapsa referri."

The doctrine of the Trinity, and more particularly of the divinity of Christ, led the van in this incursion of error. This was followed, though not till after the time of Austin, by that of the Atonement. The doctrines of grace, as they are called, were first roused into existence by the Pelagian controversy. Much earlier began a superstitious respect for the martyrs, which Dr. Priestley traces to Tertullian; and which by degrees, through the intermediate stages of pictures, images, shrines, relics, intercessions, and invocations, ended in general and established idolatry about the fifth century. The two sacraments received their share in the general corruption, and as early as the second century were deemed 'necessary to salvation.' The other sacraments are then traced to their origin, with the various modes of church government. This is easily followed by the history of persecution; and the progress of popery and monasticism brings up the rear.

It would be impossible to give even the most succinct account of the arguments by which Dr. Priestley has sustained this comprehensive plan: and we shall therefore only offer a few general observations on its nature and success. The principle is evidently just, that nearest to the fountain the stream will be the purest; and, next to the declarations of the teacher himself, the fairest appeal for his opinions will lie to those of his most immediate followers. The very obviousness, however, of this principle constitutes the danger of its application. For in these latter days the first origin of the Christian faith being very remote, must necessarily be clouded with some darkness and uncertainty. And these clouds, while they take little from the light where all Christians are agreed, as for instance in the general truth of Christianity, will yet very considerably affect the evidence of particular opinions, where the testimony is both incomplete and discordant. In this case a field may be opened for never-ending contention: while the man who has most accustomed himself to view antiquity through a favourite medium, and is moreover gifted with the greatest assurance in holding and broaching his own opinions, will be

at once able and sure to attract that attention by a display of *facts*, with which his *arguments* perhaps never would have been flattered. Besides, if, as in the case before us, these facts are brought to prove the general corruption of certain doctrines, there is more than ever reason to be upon our guard, even in proportion to their conclusiveness, with respect to the hypothesis they are brought to prove. For supposing the corruption to have arisen, in truth, as early and as generally as they represent it, what proof have we that the statement offered to us for the true one, is not a part of that very corruption which these facts have so completely established? A principle, therefore, so slippery in its application, may well be used with extreme caution: and the very first requisites we may assume as indispensable for its proper use, are, a complete knowledge of the times whose opinions we pretend to detail; a knowledge of their language and their writers; a spirit of the utmost patience and impartiality in adducing every document that materially bears on either side of the question; a mind, finally, well skilled to abstract, combine, compare the various and discrepant materials, so as to deduce from the whole a consistent and rational result.

How far Dr. Priestley may or may not have failed exactly in those points which would have rendered his undertaking either difficult or decisive, is for those to determine who have opportunity to enter at large in the controversy. His great antagonist has unquestionably professed to discover in the work the following capital defects: "Instances of reasoning in a circle; instances of quotations misapplied, through ignorance of the writer's subject; instances of testimonies perverted by artful and forced constructions; instances of passages in the Greek fathers misinterpreted, through ignorance of the Greek language; instances of passages, misinterpreted through the same ignorance, driven further out of the way by an ignorance of the Platonic philosophy; instances of ignorance of the phraseology of the earliest ecclesiastical writers."

These allegations were first hurled at Dr. Priestley by Dr. Horsley, then archdeacon of St. Alban's, in a charge to his clergy; and when repelled in a series of letters from our philosopher to Dr. Horsley, appeared again in the form of "Letters from the Archdeacon of St. Alban's to Dr. Priestley." These were again answered in a second series of letters from Dr. Priestley; which were again considered in a Sermon on the Incarnation, and Remarks on Dr. Priestley's second Letters.

Thus it appears that the hypothesis, as far as it concerns the first and principal position, respecting the divinity of Christ (and to this Dr. Horsley confined himself), underwent a full discussion. And we shall now adduce a few specimens, selected indeed chiefly from our own examination of the work, to justify the credit which we are disposed to give to all that has been advanced against it in that controversy.

The opening statement, noticed also by Dr. Horsley, in which he *proves* from ancient history (according to his plan) that the apostolical doctrines were Unitarian, is the following: "That the ancient Jewish church must have held the opinion that Christ was simply a man, and not either God Almighty or a superangelic being, may be concluded from its being the clear doctrine of Scripture, and from the apostles having taught no other."—Hist. of Corrup. vol. i. p. 6. It never, we presume, occurred to our philosopher, that he had in fact saved himself the trouble of writing his two volumes of history, by taking for granted in the outset the very point they were written to prove; nor that an appeal from the sacred writings to contemporary history for their meaning, did not include an appeal to the very writings in question.

More in conformity to the real

plan of the work, we next find the following confirmation of his position:

"Almost all the *ancient* writers, who speak of what they call the heresies of the two first centuries, say that they were of two kinds: the first were those who thought that Christ was a man only in appearance; the other, that he was a mere man. Now that this second heresy, as the *latter* writers called it, was really no heresy at all, but the plain truth of the Gospel, may be clearly inferred from the apostle John taking no notice of it, when he censures the other..... Christian writers, indeed, afterwards imagined an allusion to this heresy in the opening of that apostle's Gospel:" but this Dr. Priestley only attributes to "the common habit of interpreting the writings of others according to our own previous ideas and conceptions of things. On the contrary, it seems very evident that in that introduction the apostle alludes to the very same system which he had censured in his Epistle,.... and affirms that the Logos was not a being distinct from God, but God himself; *that is, an attribute of God*, or the divine power and wisdom, &c." ib. pp. 9, 10, 11.

Shall we insult our reader's understanding by enlarging on the above curious specimen of logical skill? They will doubtless have observed for themselves the convenient transformation, in its due place, of *ancient* writers into latter writers, to make it appear (without indeed asserting the falsehood) that whilst ancient writers testified to the existence of the heretical opinion, latter writers only *called* it heretical. The appeal to St. John, our readers will have observed, partakes strongly of the figure alluded to in the foregoing instance. They will have seen the irrefragable argument with which the author quashes those who *imagined* a meaning in the apostle contrary to his own: of his own they will have admired the extreme obviousness, backed by the lucid statement which identifies an attribute of God with God himself; a part with the whole.

Clearing, however, at length, the rocks and shoals of scriptural argument, which had manifestly nothing to do with his own, his first launch into the ocean of ecclesiastical history discovers to him that "there are unfortunately very few remains of any of the writers immediately succeeding the apostles, especially of Hegesippus, who wrote a continuance of the Acts of the Apostles about A. D. 160 (p. 6); and who, he has no doubt, had he survived, would have proved a Unitarian. This deficiency, indeed, in Dr. Priestley's hands, turns to very good account: for it enables him to come down upon his opponents with this thundering fact; viz. "that we find nothing like divinity ascribed to Christ before Justin Martyr" (p. 32), who bears date 140. And this *strong negative* argument gathers further strength from Epiphanius, who, in writing of the Nazareans, a sect of Jewish Christians, and identified most falsely by Dr. Priestley, first with the Ebionites, notorious heretics, and then with the whole Christian church in Judea, "makes no mention of any of them believing the divinity of Christ," (p. 8). An omission which, in Epiphanius himself, quoted by Dr. Horsley, is a mere confession, that on the descent of Christ, whether from Joseph only or from God, he could not say what they held.

This gap in the series of Christian writers has been indeed, amongst other things, supplied in some measure by certain Epistles from Ignatius, which, as being "rari nantes in gurgite vasto," it is no wonder Dr. Priestley, in "looking over" the vast abyss, had "overlooked." In these the following passages might have been found: "there is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, God incarnate, in mortality true life, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible. Let no one deceive you, as hitherto you are not deceived, but are wholly of God." And again: "Jesus Christ, our God, was conceived of Mary, according to the divine dispensa-

tion, being of the seed of David, and of the Holy Ghost." And this good man, as Waterland observes, threatens in the same place hell and damnation against all impugners of this doctrine, though a man otherwise of admirable lenity and most exalted charity. Possibly Dr. Priestley, by a dignified silence, meant to intimate that such *vulgar orthodoxy* was quite beneath the notice of all *rational Christians*.

These few instances, which we think leave the question of imbecility or unfairness, as applicable to Dr. Priestley's arguments, about equally divided, might be followed by others of a less questionable nature. For having at length arrived amongst the divines, *i. e.* the Trinitarians, of the 2d and 3d centuries (and, unfortunately for the Doctor, they are synonimous terms), his necessity knows no law. Truth, fairness, consistency, even probability, with all other rational weapons of defence, he seems as much to have discarded, and for the same reason, as mariners do their guns in a storm: nor can we at all believe, however hurried by the necessities of the moment, but that Dr. Priestley was aware he *had* discarded them. He attempts, for instance (p. 17), to prove that Justin Martyr, a confessed Trinitarian himself, yet attached little or no importance or authority to his own doctrine. And this he does by adducing a single passage from his dialogue with Trypho the Jew; a manifest concession for argument's sake, and which, in spite of Dr. Priestley's pretended originality in the discovery of it, had been adduced and answered about a hundred times in former controversies. He catches some old fathers napping over the forty-fifth Psalm (p. 30), and whimsically finding an allusion to the Logos in the first verse; and this he adduces as a *leading specimen* of the reasonings of the early Trinitarians. He refers to an accusation against the Sabellians, that "they acknowledged the divinity of Christ in too boundless and unrestrained a manner" (p. 49), from whence he artfully infers, that as these Sabellians were heretics, the opinion of the church was hostile to the doctrine there stated; which is not only against his own confession of the state of the church at that time, but a manifest perversion of the heresy itself, which he must have known, by making Christ the same with the Father, destroyed his *proper* divinity, and *therefore* was opposed by the orthodox *.

In heading his list of Unitarian worthies (p. 70, &c.), with Theodotus of Byzantium, whom he curiously enough finds among the first distinct assertors of the humanity of Christ,

* Had we professed to enter at large on the substance rather than the character of this work, we should not of course have omitted two arguments, which have given rise to much subsequent discussion, and in which Mr. Belsham still holds Dr. Priestley to have completely triumphed. The first is founded on a passage from Origen, which seems to denominate all the Jewish Christians of his time, from their retaining Judaism, by the name of Ebionites; the other, a seeming concession of Tertullian, that the majority of believers, consisting of the simple and unlearned, shrunk from the *economy* of the Trinity, as laid down by the orthodox in his time. Now, without discussing the passages ourselves, we would only suggest to those who do, that if they were to concede the whole (which indeed we are far from advising), yet they might still safely ask, what progress is made towards proving the *primitive* church unitarian? Origen lived A. D. 240: if the Jewish Christians were then called Ebionites, from their Judaizing spirit, does this prove that the primitive church of Jerusalem were all Ebionites, in the apostolical sense of the word—viz. as holding the simple humanity of Christ? Tertullian also lived A. D. 200. If then the ignorant of his day did not understand, were alarmed, at the peculiar system or economy into which the orthodox had now been obliged to arrange the doctrine of the Trinity, is that again a proof that the apostolical churches held the simple humanity of the Second Person? These surely, if they are steps in a demonstration, are at least very wide steps.

though flourishing in 195, he forgets not the "acknowledgment" that he was a man of ability, and even of learning; that he was at first well received at Rome, though afterwards excommunicated by Victor:—it happens only to slip his memory, that this said Theodotus is stated to have been an apostate from Christianity; having abjured his Saviour in times of persecution, and then to have justified himself by the plea that he had only denied a man, which he ever afterwards asserted Christ to be.

Praxeas the Montanist he finds the next undisputed Unitarian: and in his times, it is true, the champions of the cause happily redeemed their credit, by being, many of them, men of science, and addicted to geometry; so much so, as even to treat questions of theology in a geometrical method! Geometry, pure white-robed Geometry, we cannot think is much indebted to these gentlemen for introducing her into such company: and we cannot but think that a certain champion of a certain school in modern days, has acted more consistently in introducing into *his* system only the less reputable "doctrine of chances."

After Noetus and Sabellius, whose Unitarian orthodoxy seems indeed questionable, Paul of Samosata disgraced the cause again, by "a profligate life, and the arrogance and ambition incident to bishops of large sees." Beryilus, a man of learning and modesty, succeeded in the chair; but was most unseasonably converted by Origen to the orthodox faith: and Photinus, a little after the Nicene council in 345, brings up the rear. "And here," concludes Dr. Priestley, "I reluctantly bid adieu to what I apprehend to be the genuine doctrine of the Scriptures concerning the nature of Christ; but we shall see it re-appear with growing lustre in a later period." Unfortunate church! doomed to a long long night indeed of error and corruption, in which not a shadow, not a glimmering, of that pure scriptural and apostolical faith was to be found, against which we had vainly hoped the gates of hell would never wholly prevail. But will our readers excuse our detaining them to view the glorious return of this grand luminary, the Unitarian creed, struggling through the gloom, and at last bursting with meridian lustre on our benighted country in the 16th and 17th centuries?

"In England this doctrine appears to have had many advocates about the time of the civil war; the most distinguished of whom were the truly learned and pious Mr. Biddle, and his patron the most excellent Mr. Firmin; and it does not appear that there were many, if any, Arians amongst them..... Afterwards, however, chiefly by the influence of Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke in the established church, and of Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Peirce among the dissenters, the Arians became so numerous that the old Unitarians were *in a manner* extinct! But of late years, Dr. Lardner and others having written in favor of the simple humanity of Christ, this doctrine has spread very much, and seems now to be the prevailing opinion among those who have distinguished themselves by their freedom of thinking in matters of religion. This has been more especially the case since the application made to parliament, by some members of the Church of England, for relief in the business of subscription, and more particularly so since the erection of the Unitarian chapel by Mr. Lindsey.... and the publication of his Apology, with its sequel, and other excellent works in vindication of his conduct and opinions." pp. 140, 141.

Without challenging Dr. Priestley to count hands in defence of our respective opinions, may we not at the same time, notwithstanding all his boasts of the number and respectability of his witnesses, fairly exclaim, "And is this all?" Mr. Biddle, and his patron Mr. Firmin, Dr. Lardner, and suppose we add, to swell the catalogue, his followers, Dr. Priestley, Mr. Lindsey, Mr. Belsham! Is this really all! And if so, can we help being reminded strongly of the invader's trick, who, to disarm opposition, boasts of the myriads he has poured into the ene-

my's country, when the few he has there are hemmed in, trembling and fainting, amid a spirited population risen to avenge their rights, and crush their oppressors? If Dr. Priestley appeals to *authority*, we must tell him the truth, that his is a hapless, hopeless cause, called into momentary notice by the respectable names of a Biddle or Lardner, but ready, the very moment after they are fled, to sink back into the gulph of Arianism, Deism, or—oblivion.

And, now, do our readers expect to be taken on a similar visit to Dr. Priestley's history of the Atonement, to which he has assigned a large province of his "terra incognita?" Truly, if they knew half the trouble we have found in pushing through the mazes, and disentangling ourselves from the traps, which have beset our path thus far, they would willingly excuse us such an additional sacrifice of time and labour. Dr. Priestley has indeed evidently given himself so little time to arrange either his own ideas or those of his authors, is so little to be followed in what he has said, and so little to be depended upon in what he has not said, that he rewards the most diligent reader neither with argument nor information. Slender in the extreme in his authorities, and trite as any other Socinian in his reasonings, he yet contrives to throw them together in so undistinguished, so unconnected a heap, that our attention is bewildered, and we are wholly disabled from coming to any rational conclusions. Private opinions are blended with public ones, sectaries with members of the church, the orthodox with heretics, till we never know in whose company we are: and whether it be the most solemn truth or most ridiculous fancy, the dogma of a council or the dream of a friar, we are still called upon to listen with the same gravity of face, and decide under the same conditions of impartiality. In short, we discover "veteris vestigia flammæ," the old false light of Socinianism, in every page; an attempt to shake all belief, rather than a plan to establish any. Be any thing that you please, only do not be orthodox: adopt no system, and then you may be right. Explain away this, and rub away that, till you come—to what? why to the very same a man comes to who has peeled his onion to the core.

It is impossible to conceive that Dr. Priestley had any serious expectation, or even intention, in this book, to establish, by a regular and conclusive train of facts and inferences, that the unitarian was the apostolical faith. His utmost attempt is at a kind of impotent negation, that since no other was, this must have been: which would have as successfully proved the apostles to have been Mohammedans. And we suspect the real, though concealed, plan is, to cast such a mist over the eyes of weak men as shall give them an entire distrust of their own organs of vision; and then to infuse such a distrust of all other guides as shall prompt them, in a moment of despair, to place themselves under the direction of the great philosopher and enchanter Dr. Priestley.

These remarks, for we must not yet have done with the work, apply as much to the History of the Atonement as to that of the Trinity. The line he takes in both cases is exactly similar; viz. first to prejudice the reader, by pre-occupying the post of Scripture, which is the very ground to be fought for; and having explained that to serve his hypothesis, thence to assume the agreement of the earlier writers, whose language is for the most part scriptural; and finally to bring up a host of later fathers, ante-Nicene and post-Nicene, orthodox and heterodox, whom he sets together by the ears, and then exhibits them in all their dust and heat to the reader, and asks whom you prefer. His negative argument he wields, as usual, with wide-sweeping, and as he conceives irresistible, force; of

which we shall once more exhibit the following specimen.

"We have seen in the Old Testament that the Jews had never any other idea than that God was placable on repentance. We find no other sentiment in Job or his friends, and certainly no other among the Ninevites, or among the Jews of later ages, as the books of Apocrypha, Philo, Josephus, and all their later writings, testify. We also see nothing of any other opinion in the doctrine of the Hindoos or other oriental nations."

Will our readers attribute the foulest misrepresentation to Dr. Priestley, or to ourselves, when we assure them, on the word of reviewers, that this view of the Jewish creed is taken without the smallest attempt to explain, nay without the most distant hint to remind us of, a single sacrifice in the whole expiatory code of Moses! And if they are disposed to consider us as "true men," what will they think of our author's boldness? But he proceeds:

"It is remarkable that Dr. Clarke, when, like others before him, he represents all mankind as absolutely at a loss on what terms God would receive offenders into his favor, produces not so much as a single fact or quotation, in support of what he asserts, though he is known to be peculiarly happy in his choice of the most pertinent ones on all other occasions."

Barren indeed, Dr. Clarke, not to say unfair, to charge upon all mankind a dilemna of which you find it impossible to adduce a single fact or quotation in support! Let us contrast with this singular infelicity of unlearned Dr. Clarke, the extent and profundity of learned Dr. Priestley's reading, in support of the contrary hypothesis. We shall quote from his theological Repository, which it is well known contains his maturest thoughts, and where he has manfully enlarged upon this very subject—viz. "that, from a full view of all religions ancient and modern, they will be found destitute of any thing like the doctrine of proper atonement;" and he offers "the whole range of the Jewish and heathen world to supply a single fact in contradiction." He then surveys this range himself, and adduces, first, a passage from Virgil, asserting that even the implacable hatred of Juno can be appeased; secondly, an example of freedom from fear of the divine displeasure in the case of Socrates, in the Phædon; thirdly, a quotation or two from Mr. Dow and Mr. Grose, with a prayer from Dr. Hyde, to ascertain the religious notions of the modern Parsis and Hindoos!* We mean not to examine how far even these appeals are in his favour; but we wish our readers to admire the reach of mind with which our philosopher makes a single passage from a single Latin poet stand proxy for the sentiments of the whole Latin world; and a single privileged sentiment of a Greek philosopher, for the Grecian; a modern Parsi made to speak for his ancestors to a thousand generations, and, in conjunction with a Hindoo, actually represent the whole remainder of the Heathen world ancient and modern! After all, was Dr. Priestley really not aware that the tide of every religion, ancient or modern, true or false, set full and clear and strong the opposite way? Was he not aware that *had* Dr. Clarke been silent on the subject (which he was far from being), it would have been the abundance and obviousness, not the deficiency or remoteness, of his matter, that had stopped his mouth; as he might have ranged at large, from the offering of Abel to the cock devoted by Socrates to Esculapius; from the clean beasts offered in sacrifice by Noah, to the "exta, et candiduli divina tomacula porci" of the poet; from the sanctity of the Paschal lamb, to the ghastly spectacle of human victims in the groves of Mona, or on the banks of the Ganges: in short, that every altar and every victim supplied him with 'a fact,' every worshipper and

* Vide Magee on the Atonement, pp. 103 et seq.

every prayer with 'a quotation,' in his favour.

We take the opportunity of adducing a specimen of this kind, to prove, once for all, the profound ignorance and intolerable arrogance (for we can no longer keep terms with him) of this superficial philosopher—Ex uno disce omnes.—Well assured how much a hardy assertion will do in the world, and that the vulgar seldom look farther for the proof of an opinion than the positiveness of its advocate, he seems to have outstripped even the hardiest of his compeers in the ignoble race. He proceeds with the gravest tone through the gravest falsehoods, and with a most unmoved front adduces the most glaring sophisms: pursuing an uncertain hypothesis through still more uncertain paths; original, if we may so speak, without originality, and plausible through the very neglect of plausibility. His positions are, in fact, substantially the same with those of other and far abler advocates of the same cause, that have preceded him. To Znicker, a Socinian of Prussia, he is, or ought to have been, indebted for the *assertion*, and to Episcopius for the unwarranted *concession*, that the old Christian churches were, at least very generally, Unitarian, and grew up gradually into Trinitarianism by the steps which Dr. Priestley has laid down for them: and to Lardner he owes most of the few gleanings from ancient ecclesiastical history which he has picked up in defence of these extravagant opinions. And therefore it is we wish those who are warm in the defence of our venerable faith, instead of drying up the puny streams that flow around, to proceed boldly to the fountain-head of error. More particularly we should rejoice in seeing the last-named, Dr. Lardner, taken up more seriously by some champion of orthodoxy, than to our knowledge he yet has been. His works, are, without doubt, most invaluable, as authenticating the history of Christianity upwards to the very settlement of the sacred canon: yet we cannot help considering them, too, as most dangerous, from betraying a secret but *systematic* view throughout to the establishment, on the most extensive scale, of this grand negative argument against all orthodox doctrines, which Dr. Priestley has only made his own by dividing and defacing it. And it is not to be dissembled, that in Dr. Lardner's hands it becomes a weapon of no mean force, partly because he strictly confines himself to the point in question *, viz. the want of evidence we have for the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement having been held by the earlier fathers, the latter even by Austin; partly from the immense research and actual insight displayed into every record of antiquity bearing at all upon the subject; partly also from the argument appearing in the form of a mere indirect and collateral strain of observation, from its exhibiting marks of the most disinterested candour, and being largely interspersed with the most affecting sentiments of Christian piety. "Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses!"

It is certainly true (to speak a few words upon this important subject) that Dr. Lardner little more helps the specific cause of *Unitarianism*, by confounding the light of antiquity, than Dr. Priestley. It is true also, that, with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, the labours of Bull, Waterland, and other eminent lights of our church, have arranged a train of evidence that will sufficiently countermine the insinuations even of Dr. Lardner. It is moreover true, and we are sorry here to speak the truth, that with respect to the doctrine of Atonement Lard-

* Dr. Priestley amusingly laments the vagrancy of his *antagonists* from "the ground to which *he wished* to *confine* the *controversy*, viz. the state of opinions in the primitive times, as one means of collecting what was the doctrine of the apostles and the true sense of Scripture on the subject." (Memoirs, p. 100.) Why did *he* not then so confine it?

ner cannot be considered as fair and impartial in his testimony. As, for instance, when in speaking of the causes which Austin assigned for the death of Christ, he quotes Austin as *only* saying, "that Christ assumed a human body, and lived among men, that he might set us an example of living, dying, and rising again;" and that Christ in his passion shewed what we ought to endure; in the resurrection, what we are to hope for; with some obscure passage about "purchasing faithful men and martyrs." Now the most cursory reader of Austin discovers sentences of the following kind: "Return, O Lord my God .... look upon thy dear Son: his whole body outstretched (upon the cross). Behold his innocent hands flowing with holy blood; and, *appeased* (by the sight), *remit* the sins which my hands have committed." And again: "Behold the punishment of the God-man, and remit the misery of created man. Behold the punishment of the Redeemer, and dismiss the guilt of the redeemed," &c. &c. Passages to this effect surely should in justice have been quoted, and the reader left to judge for himself of their meaning. But we wish to see this subject more fully entered into; and must profess our disappointment that the very able and comprehensive statements of Dr. Magee on this subject have not included that branch of it to which Dr. Lardner seems willing to confine the discussion.

It is from no diffidence in the cause ourselves, it is from no suspicion of diffidence on the part of others, that we are induced to throw out these hints. It would most probably be no difficult matter to shew the entire silence of many fathers, and of all controversialists, even to Austin, on the express doctrine of the Atonement, to be a satisfactory proof of their unanimity in receiving, rather than rejecting it. It might perhaps easily be made appear, that the expressions and views of the early Christians on this subject were so identical with those of Scripture, as not to provoke discussion on either side. On the one hand, it is possible that men had not indulged so freely in human speculations on the divine economy of redemption, as to excite in other speculators, according to the common course of frail men, a doubt whether there were any redemption at all: and on the other hand, men being for the most part converted from gross heathenism, and therefore perhaps far more habitually conscious of demerit, might with far greater readiness receive the doctrine of Christ's merits; might *take for granted* that faith in his redemption, not in their own virtue, was the proper refuge of their guilt. And in this office of Christ as a Redeemer, the reader of the early fathers might discover the only assignable reason why they insist so much, as they do insist, on his divine character; for instruction and example they might well enough have been satisfied to receive, as before, from a mere man: whereas, exclaims Irenæus against the Ebionites, "how can they be *saved* unless it was God that wrought their salvation upon earth?" In complete subserviency, then, to this salvation by Christ, would it appear that those writers held the efficacy of faith, repentance, and all the virtues which Dr. Priestley so often finds in their mouths. And thus even the assertion, "That now no sacrifice was necessary to appease God but that of a broken spirit," might he found the strongest possible proof of an opinion in the author of it, that something in the Christian dispensation had conferred a value even on the most imperfect addresses of a penitent sinner to his Maker: and what could this be, but the favourable regards of God Almighty to us, through his Son Jesus, "in whom he was always well pleased?"

These observations, we say, might be very forcibly presented to the mind of an attentive reader of the primitive fathers, even though they may have escaped the winking eye

of our philosopher. We owe it to truth, as we imagine, to hint them; and to our readers we are sure we owe it, after having detained them so long, to say no more. The weightiness of the subject must plead our apology for having digressed thus far from the main subject of our review; though indeed, professing to draw a portrait of Dr. Priestley, it would have been scarcely consistent with *that* profession to have slightly passed over a work in which the different features belonging to his character were so strongly developed. And lest we should be accused of exhibiting only the dark side to our readers, we must still crave their attention, whilst we produce him once more to view, from the same work, in a different character.

After our documents produced above (we may say also our concessions), we do not fear the trite accusation of discovering nothing like reason in sentiments adverse to our own: any more than we fear a similar accusation, after the passages we are about to adduce, of being satisfied with any thing as reasoning when offered in support of opinions which we hold. The concluding chapter of the work contains an address, first, to infidels, particularly Mr. Gibbon; secondly, to the orthodox, particularly Dr. Hurd. Now, speaking for Dr. Hurd and the orthodox, we must say we do not like our company; nor are we at all bound to confess our own feelings under Dr. Priestley's lash; but we must so far betray the secrets of the inquisition, into which we have been thus ignominiously dragged, as to declare freely, that we think our fellow-sufferer smarts prodigiously. In other words, we think a more satisfactory answer to Mr. Gibbon's "Five Causes of the Growth of Christianity," has seldom appeared in so short a space. The ground our author assumes, we think new and ingenious. "The circumstances which Mr. Gibbon enumerates as the immediate *causes* of the spread of Christianity, were themselves *effects*, and necessarily required such causes, as, I imagine, he would be unwilling to allow." Hist. of Corrup. vol. ii. p. 444.

This remark he exemplifies by an actual reference to Mr. Gibbon's declarations and concessions. As, for instance, when he talks of the peculiar character of the Jews, as a reason for the spread of a religion which issued from them; Dr. Priestley asks, whence came that character? If their own original religion be the cause, how came a nation to have adopted so peculiar a religion as the Mosaic, without objection, when their *incredulity* afterwards made them so prone to change it for the rites of their neighbours? And, on the other hand, if their *obstinacy* be the plea, how came they to invent and adopt another, viz. the Christian, so different from, so subversive of their own? Surely the irresistible evidence of both religions, in their turn, can be the only rational account of the phenomena. p. 445.

Again, when Mr. Gibbon represents the discredit into which the old religions had fallen as having made way for the new one, and adds, "So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing, that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition;" Dr. Priestley well replies:

"But are not the vulgar *men*, as well as the learned; their understandings being naturally as various, and certainly subject to the same laws; and *necessity of believing* or *proneness to belief*, is not greater in one than in the other. Besides, if any set of men had this property of *proneness* to *believe*, they must, to be all of a piece, have a proportionable unwillingness to quit their belief without very sufficient evidence; and yet those vulgar of all nations are supposed by Mr. Gibbon to have abandoned the belief of their own mythology some time before Christianity came to supply the vacancy. Such *vulgar* as those I should think entitled to the more respectable appellation of *free thinkers*, which with many is synonimous

with *philosophers*. And, in fact, it was not with the vulgar, but with the philosophers, that the religions of Greece and Rome were fallen into discredit. We ought, therefore, to judge of their case by that of the philosophical part of the world at present.

"With many of them Christianity is now rejected; but do they on that account seem disposed to adopt any other mode of religion, or any other system of mythology, in its place? And would not such men as Mr. Hume or Helvetius among the dead, and Mr. Gibbon among the living, examine with scrupulous exactness the pretensions of any system of divine revelation, especially before he would regulate his life by it, and go to the stake for it? And yet philosophers of antiquity, men of as good understanding as Mr. Gibbon, and who, no doubt, loved life, and the pleasures and advantages of it, as much as he does, embraced Christianity and died for it." Vol. ii. pp. 448, 449.

The same acuteness is displayed in answer to Mr. Gibbon's representation that the offer of eternal happiness, &c. appeared terms irresistibly inviting to the great majority, who were thereby induced to believe the Gospel.

"Now it is certainly no discredit," Dr. Priestley observes, "that the views it exhibits of a future state appeared more rational and more inviting than the accounts of Tartarus and the Elysian shades. But besides appearing more inviting, they must also have appeared more credible, from the general external evidence of the truth of Christianity; else, on the common principles of the human mind, which often holds "news to be too good to be true," their very desirableness, standing alone, would have been an argument for their rejection," &c.

With equal readiness we subscribe to the concluding challenge, which Dr. Priestley throws out to this arch-enemy of the truth:

"When the circumstances of the Jews and heathens at the time of the promulgation of Christianity shall be sufficiently considered; the reception that this new religion met with among them, and the total subversion of paganism which followed it, will be found a more extraordinary thing on the supposition of the falsehood of the Gospel history, more contrary to the present course of nature, and consequently more improbable, than the history of Christ and of his apostles, which makes the whole sequel easy and natural. In short, the question is, whether Mr. Gibbon or myself believe in more numerous, more extraordinary, or more useless miracles. On this fair unexceptionable ground I am willing to meet him." pp. 458, 459.

Here, then, we close our notice of Dr. Priestley's work; perfectly satisfied to leave him in possession of the ground, where infidelity can be fairly attacked, or where the corruptions of Christianity can be really proved upon its professors.

Illâ se jactet in aulâ
Æolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.

Our defence of *corruptions* never, to our knowledge, shall extend beyond those *corrupt* doctrines, "which are no other than we have learned at the feet of Christ;" which we must still desire may "grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength;" from which we humbly derive our hope in life, and expect our consolation in death; and which we are, in spite of Dr. Priestley's arguments, weak enough to consider as the ornament of the church—to Christians "a crown of rejoicing"—the song of angels, and the wonder of heaven.

(To be continued.)

Serious Attention to personal Holiness, and Soundness of Doctrine, considered, in a Sermon, preached June 1, 1808, *at the Visitation of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby, D. D., Archdeacon, in the Parish Church of St. Martin, Leicester, and published at the Request of the Clergy. By the Rev.* THOMAS ROBINSON, A. M. Vicar of St. Mary's, Leicester. Hatchard, and Rivington, London. 1808. Price 1*s.*

IN the course of our reading for the purpose of criticism, we have met with few sermons better entitled to approbation than the present. The preacher has not wasted

the opportunity given him, of addressing his clerical brethren, in invectives against sentiments which are opposite to his own, or against persons whom he dislikes; nor in delivering an encyclopædia of Biblical literature for the benefit of the younger part of his brethren, whom alone he presumes to instruct; nor in some abstruse disquisition, which the inquiries or controversies of the day have rendered an object of interest and curiosity; nor in exhibiting a crude mass of sentiment and observation, which betrays the previous distress of the preacher to find and fix upon any subject at all. The sermon before us is as remote as possible from any of these characters. It is a manly and simple, a faithful yet respectful, address to the clergy, on the most important parts of their duty.

The text is well chosen: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine: for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee." The divisions are judiciously laid out. They consist of different portions of the text itself, taken in their order; and yet constitute as compact, regular, and comprehensive a view of the subject, as could have been chosen, had the construction of the text been totally disregarded. An important use is made of the initial words, "Take heed." Without any violence to the expression, Mr. Robinson avails himself of its most genuine meaning and force, to excite a serious attention to the subject of his sermon. That serious attention is first to be directed to the preacher's self, to personal religion, as he is concerned—"Take heed unto thyself;" and then to the matter of his doctrine—"and unto the doctrine." The happy consequences to be expected are, first, "thou shalt save thyself;" secondly, "and them that hear thee." But perhaps the excellence of the division would operate to the disadvantage of the sermon in general, did it not in some degree rise above mediocrity. And this is a circumstance which might with some justice be apprehended on a subject rendered trite by its supreme importance. Here, if in any case, the remark is applicable;

"Difficile est proprie communia dicere."

We felt no disappointment, however, at the manner in which Mr. Robinson has filled up his outline. He has given to the great subjects which he was handling the animation and interest which belongs to them, whenever they are apprehended as realities. We have no doubt that the discourse, plain and faithful as it was, and condemning as it must have been in some instances to a greater or less extent, was heard with general attention and approbation; and, judging from our own feeling on the perusal, we should hope with some salutary effect.

After some difficulty in the choice of extracts, we have settled upon the two which follow. The first contains the judgment of the author on an afflicting occurrence in the established church, expressed with considerable vigour; though perhaps, in one or two instances, with too great severity.

"I augur good both from the prosecution and the sentence. I rejoice not in the degradation or the sufferings of the delinquent. But shall the man, who aims a fatal stab at the vitals of his parent, not be deprived of the power of accomplishing his purpose? I shall not wonder, if some be disposed to admire and celebrate him as a martyr: but I trace a very different character. I ask not, where is the *Christianity* of a Socinian, but where is *manly firmness*, where is *common honesty*, in that person, who has continued, even to old age, to eat the bread of the church, which he has invariably endeavoured to subvert, and who at last declares, with meanness and pusillanimity, his unwillingness to relinquish his preferment? This is not the spirit of a martyr. The case is calamitous: but it will do good. It will rouse us to consider what are our principles: and the world shall know that there still exists among us a firm regard to the doctrine of our Articles;—that we 'honour the Son, even as we honour the Father,' and that

we preach redemption only through his blood." p. 23, 24.

Our other extract will contain the whole second general division of the sermon, which we give entire, in order that a fairer judgment may be formed of the merits of the whole production.

"II. The happy consequences to be expected. 'In doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.' There are no considerations of equal moment: who can resist their influence? May we feel their full force!

"1. 'Thou shalt save thyself.' A man's first concern doubtless must be directed to his own soul. Who can be indifferent about its eternal state, or think it of little moment whether he shall be happy or miserable for ever? Now, though we must be indebted for salvation to the free grace of God in Christ Jesus, even as the meanest of the people, yet would it be a strange perversion of the truth to say, that diligence and fidelity are needless. I am unwilling to make the supposition of an unjust steward. But shall the man, who basely betrays his trust, yet hope for security, or presume upon the favour of his Lord? Will not his negligence and treachery bring down upon him the heaviest punishment, the loss of his soul, an exclusion from heaven, and the infliction of endless misery? The blood of them that perish through his carelessness shall be required at his hands.

"I would rather turn to the opposite character, the wise and good steward, assiduously labouring for his master's household; and I would say, hear the voice of thy divine Master, 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' In this holy circumspection and exemplary perseverance, we shall escape the snares by which many fall, and obtain that promised grace which will conduct us to everlasting glory. In this way only shall we prove our knowledge of Christ, our love to his name, and our interest in his salvation. Our labours, though imperfect, shall be approved and honoured at the great day. 'For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing?' (we may say to our people), 'Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?' What a distinguished recompense for all our exertions and sufferings in our Master's cause! 'They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.' We must add therefore,

"2. 'Thou shalt save them that hear thee.' The true minister of Christ cannot be indifferent about the eternal state of the people of his charge. He feels a deep sense of the value of their souls, and burns with eager desire for their salvation. To be the instrument of converting them from the error of their way, of inclosing them in the fold of Christ, and of conducting them to mansions of eternal felicity, this he would prefer to the highest honours, the largest preferment, and most splendid possessions which the world could offer him. For the encouragement of such an one, let the apostle speak, 'Thou shalt save them that hear thee.' Thy blessed Lord, who hath sent, will support and prosper thee. He will not suffer thee to run in vain, or labour in vain. He will cause the good seed which thou sowest, to take root, and spring forth: and thou shalt gather fruit to life eternal. He hath said, and he will make it good, 'My word shall not return unto me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.'

I am aware, that upon this subject there is need of caution. Many a holy man may labour diligently in the Lord's vineyard, without witnessing those good effects which he most ardently desires. He complains with anguish of heart, 'All the day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.' I would say on such an occasion, Faint not, my brother, continue to sow in hope, and an abundant harvest may yet arise. But let it suffice thee, even if disappointed, that thy work is with thy God; and like thy Master say, 'Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and my God shall be my strength.'—'The wicked shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul.'

"Yet the want of ministerial success in any parish is a tremendous circumstance, never to be contemplated but with horror. Something must be wrong; and the Christian pastor should ever be ready to suspect himself. Is no good effect produced? Is no obstinate sinner awakened so a sense of his danger? Is no one turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God? Is the Gospel of Je-

sus Christ treated with contempt? And are there none, to whom it is made the power of God to their salvation? How then is the promise fulfilled, 'Thou shalt save them that hear thee?' Let each one of us inquire, Where is the fault? Am I faithfully delivering 'the truth as it is in Jesus?'—declaring all the counsel of God,—and exerting my utmost efforts to bring all men to the obedience of faith? Then why is there this deplorable inefficacy?—this blast upon my labours?

"The examination is needful, and will be highly profitable. Our time is short, let us work the work of God, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work. I feel the force of this consideration, and with all deference and respect I would press it upon my brethren. Life is drawing to a close. Yet a little while, and our Master will come and reckon with us. Every one of us must give account of himself to God. Can we resign our charge, with an humble hope that we have not neglected it, and that we have improved our talents to the best purposes? 'Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.' I conclude with the apostolic exhortation, 'Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.'" p. 32—37.

It is a great pleasure to us to find, that the Antijacobin Review entirely accords with us in the favourable judgment which we have felt it our duty to express concerning this sermon.

Jay's *Life of Winter.*

(*Continued from p.* 458.)

It is our intention in the present review to elucidate several points which were noticed, but not fully discussed, in our remarks on Mr. Ingram on Evangelical Preaching. We were the less solicitous, when reviewing that work, to exhaust the important subjects before us, because we perceived that the piece of biography now under our consideration, as well as an anonymous publication entitled "Zeal without Innovation," would demand our notice, and would furnish ample occasion for bringing some of them again under review Our chief work is done. We shall have principally to refer to what we have already written. We have explained ourselves on the subject of methodism, of evangelical preachers, and evangelical preaching. The individual character, however, of Mr. Whitefield here again presents itself before us; and the question, how far either he himself, or his followers, immediate or remote, are to be considered as true churchmen, and as fit subjects for episcopal ordination, very well deserves a careful and particular discussion. We introduced into our last number a quotation from the pen of Mr. Winter, which threw light on the private character of Mr. Whitefield; and the infirmities of the man a little indicate, as we think, the nature of the errors of the minister. We shall devote the present paper to the single subject now before us; a subject of which we gave notice in our last number: Was the bishop of London right or wrong in refusing ordination to Mr. Winter, the known associate and partisan, and now indeed the representative, of Mr. Whitefield? This is the cause which we are about to try, and we feel anxious to exercise the most even justice between the parties. Mr. Jay is silent on the point, and we respect him for refraining to deliver a philippic upon it, though we can have little doubt that his judgment is adverse to the determination which the bishop adopted. A respectable review, which Mr. Jay has taken occasion in this Life of Winter to recommend*, is very warm indeed on that side. It becomes us to be careful in giving our reasons for the sentiments which we hold, as well as to guard against some misconceptions of our meaning which might arise, if we were merely to pronounce a summary judgment on the case.

* The Eclectic Review.

The history of the transaction is thus stated in the work before us.

The Rev. Mr. Zububuhler, of Savannah in Georgia, having died, and left a certain sum to be applied to the instruction of negroes on his plantation, the trustees of the deceased employed Mr. Winter for about a year in this pious work; but conceiving it to be implied by the will that the instructor should be a minister of the church of England, they addressed various persons in England, and among these the bishop of London, in favour of Mr. Winter, whom they wished to receive back properly ordained. Mr. Whitefield had recently finished his earthly course, and the charge of some of his concerns in America was likely to be devolved on his friend Mr. Winter, in the event of his return. Mr. Winter brought over with him Mr. Whitefield's will, and delivered it to the executors, into whose society he seems to have chiefly fallen. He took up his residence in town in the house annexed to the Tabernacle, a place of worship which Mr. Whitefield, availing himself of the act of toleration, had established, and repaired from thence to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to the house of the bishop of London, soliciting episcopal ordination.

"The next morning," says he (that is, on the morning after he had seen a clergyman recommended to him by the secretary of that society), I waited upon his lordship. 'You have been over,' said the bishop, 'to America as a preacher?' I answered, 'No, as a catechist*.' 'But,' said his lordship, 'you have preached?' I replied: 'I have attempted to explain the Scriptures to the Negroes, and some people's curiosity has excited them to hear.' To which he answered, 'It was illegal; you had no right to do so.' As I stood before his lordship as a candidate, and not as a casuist to defend my conduct, I judged it prudent, upon this and some other remarks, not very material, to be silent."

We are not quite satisfied either with the language of the bishop or the silence of Mr. Winter on this occasion. It is not *illegal* for one who is no minister of the church of England to preach. He is bound, indeed, to take out a licence; but this licence, which cannot be refused, completely justifies him in the eye of the law, in preaching. It was only in the case of Mr. Winter's having neglected to take out a licence, that his preaching would be illegal. He might therefore have asserted his legal right to preach, as arising out of the toleration act. In doing this, however, he would have had plainly to avow that he had been officiating in the character of a dissenting minister, and not merely acting as a catechist. We think that the avowal would have been manly and proper. He might have added some observations, tending to shew, that, however liable he had been in this respect to the appellation of a dissenter, he was not, on the whole, ill affected to the Church of England.

"The next question was, where I was educated? I answered, 'My lord, I have had no education but what I have acquired by dint of industry.' His lordship proceeded to enquire where I was born, and to what I was brought up. I replied: 'I was born in London, served seven years' apprenticeship to a mechanic, and as soon as possible afterwards applied myself to the study of divinity.' His lordship asked, 'Then how came you to go over to America?' To which I answered, 'On purpose to see if I could be of any service to the Negroes.' Then said his lordship, 'You went over with Mr. Whitefield?' I replied, 'Yes my lord.' He added, 'Then I suppose you have been connected with him?' I replied, 'My lord, I cannot with propriety say that I have been connected with any body else.' His lordship was pleased to commend me, in being, as he termed it,

* Surely there is some little appearance of evasion in this answer. Mr. Winter, as we have already shewn, had been a stated *preacher* both in England and America, and had doubtless officiated when in England, in virtue of a licence under the act of toleration.

honest, in not leaving him in the dark; and directly added, 'Then, to be sure, you have drunk deep into his sentiments?' To which I replied, 'I hope, my lord, I shall be enabled to give a degree of satisfaction upon examination.' He said, I hope you have not baptized children? I replied, 'By no means; Mr. Frink promised me his assistance in that office till I should be authorised.' He then enquired if I had read Burnett on the Articles. I replied I had, with other authors, for my instruction and information. This was the purport of our conference; and I can make no considerable mistake, as I minuted it down the very moment I left his lordship."

Mr. Winter was afterwards referred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who (he says) "agreed to have nothing to do with the business, as there were no letters directed to them; neither could they recommend me to the bishop of London, as I wanted no assistance from them." He was informed, that on this occasion "the archbishop of Canterbury, with others, made some remarks which turned in the negative. However, all agreed, if his lordship were disposed to ordain me, they had no objection; but his lordship replied, he would have nothing to do with the American business but through the society; and he added, that he was afraid the young gentleman had drank deep into Mr. Whitefield's doctrine." —"To be plain with you" (said the bishop of London at a subsequent interview, which had been occasioned by a very respectful letter from Mr. Winter), "we had information from America of your going over, long before you embarked from England; and had warning, even though you should return home, not to ordain you.—Now Mr. Whitefield is dead, you want to throw yourself under our wing."

It thus clearly appears that the known connection of Mr. Winter with Mr. Whitefield, was the leading cause of the refusal of ordination. Some mention, indeed, was made by the bishop of the want of a proper education. Offence was also thought by Mr. Winter to have been taken at certain expressions, used in America by a person of the party of Mr. Whitefield, to the prejudice of the general character of the missionaries sent out by the Society for Propagating the Gospel*.

Let us now proceed to discuss the important question which has been propounded. We do not recollect to have ever seen the arguments either for, or against, the ordination of a person identifying himself with Mr. Whitefield, very fully, clearly, or temperately stated.

Few persons are placed under circumstances of greater difficulty than our bishops; and the most trying part of their duty, perhaps, consists in the selection of men proper for the ministerial office. They have to maintain church discipline; they have also to uphold the truth: they have to discountenance enthusiasm, as well as worldliness and indifference; they have to guard against errors on the right hand and on the left; they have to consult at once the purity, the peace, and the external order of the church. Being themselves men of education and refinement, and of high rank, they naturally feel anxious to render re-

* It appears from Mr. Winter's narrative, that the Rev. Mr. Frink, chaplain at Savannah, who was in correspondence with this society, and probably well esteemed by it, was spoken of, at a meeting of the friends of Mr. Whitefield, as destitute of the religious qualifications necessary to a missionary, and consequently also to a minister. Mr. Winter, however, applied to him for a recommendation both to the society and the bishop; and he seems to have had some reason to expect such recommendation. The manner in which Mr. Frink found that both himself and the society were spoken of at this meeting, for the words are supposed to have been privately reported to him, probably turned him into an enemy. In truth, there seems to have been so great a distance of sentiment and character between the two parties, that any testimonial from the one in favour of the other appears to have been scarcely consistent with strict moral principle.

ligion respectable in the eyes of those persons of the higher classes with whom they are associated; and they perhaps may almost be considered as having received a special commission from the state to take care that the Gospel is not degraded by the fanaticism or vulgarity of those whom they appoint to declare its doctrines, and to dispense its holy mysteries to the people. They undoubtedly ought not to be severely judged, if in this respect they err a little on the cautious side. It is understood among them, that ordinations in general shall take place according to certain rules to be observed by the whole bench; and these rules have undoubtedly been framed with a view to the religious interests, as well as the general respectability of the Church of England. Rules, however, easily degenerate into mere forms: and as under even the best political constitution laws are found to become by degrees a dead letter, if there is no energy among those who make them and put them in execution, and if there is no jealousy among the people; so, also, even in the best constituted church, piety will droop, if the excellency of its liturgy, the orthodoxy of its articles, and the general propriety of the rules observed in the case of candidates for holy orders, are the whole security relied upon for its preservation. We believe that an increased attention has for some time been paid to the business of ordination; that examinations are become more strict and solemn, and the individual competency of candidates is more inquired into; and that while enthusiasm is an object of suspicion on the one hand, religious ignorance and insufficiency, if very manifest, have constituted an objection on the other. If at the time when ordination was refused to Mr. Winter, on the presumed ground of his participation in the enthusiasm of Mr. Whitefield, equal care had been generally taken to exclude from the ministry of the church every species of error, and all religious incompetency; the justification of the bishop would, in our judgment, have been complete. The difficulty of the case arises, as we conceive, from the opportunity of recrimination afforded. "Are there not" (it might be said by the favourers of Mr. Whitefield) "many men introduced into the church, who are wanting in the essential qualification of piety and devotion, as well indeed as in doctrinal knowledge; and shall a certain mixture of enthusiasm with true and scriptural religion be a ground of exclusion when the absence of a religious spirit is not? Besides, were not the irregularities of Mr. Whitefield caused in part by the low state of religion in the church? Had the body of its ministers been fervent in their work, he might not have itinerated as he did. He was rendered irregular by his zeal to supply their deficiency." This is undoubtedly the best mode of defending Mr. Whitefield. On the other hand, however, let us fairly and fully state the ground on which we conceive him to have given to his superiors in the church just cause of complaint; and Mr. Winter, as we have shewn, had remarkably identified himself with Mr. Whitefield. If therefore it shall appear that Mr. Whitefield had excited just objections, it follows that Mr. Winter, however sober on the whole we may now know his piety to have been, would be involved in the consequences. The bishop perhaps had few means of discriminating between them.

There are three points to which we might separately advert, but which we shall find it convenient in some degree to blend, on account of the natural, and almost necessary, connection which subsists between them. First, Mr. Whitefield had inadequate ideas of the discipline of the church; secondly, there was some extravagance in his doctrines; and, thirdly, he had a coarse as well as violent manner of delivering them.

Every minister of the Church of England receives, from the bishop who ordains him, authority to preach in

these words: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments, *in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*" He also promises "reverently" to obey his ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over him; following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting himself to their godly judgments*." It is indeed obvious, that the Church of England, since it is a comprehensive national establishment, assumes its clergymen to be appointed each to their respective cures. This kingdom is parcelled out into about ten thousand parishes, which are confided to about as many ministers and their curates. To allow, therefore, any one clergyman of the Church of England to become an English minister at large, and assemble congregations out of his parish, and in other places than the church, is to introduce confusion into the system. It is to set doctrine against doctrine, church minister against church minister. If it be answered, that the clergy of some parishes may be negligent, or ignorant, or heterodox, or even vicious; and that it becomes some other man to supply their "lack of service;" we distinctly answer, let that man rather be a dissenting minister than a church minister; for the church minister violates the spirit of that institution to which, by becoming a member of it, he has bound himself to conform. He, moreover, must know, that he contradicts the wishes and intentions, not to say the express injunctions of his ordinary, in a point in which a ready submission was certainly understood by that ordinary to be implied in the promise made at the time of ordination.

But it will perhaps be said, "Is then a minister of the church to be deprived of the same means of doing good which you are willing to allow to a dissenting teacher? If the one may itinerate, why not the other? Moreover, did not the reformers, who are the very fathers of our church, lift up their voice against a part of that body to which they belonged; and are not we, their sons, imitating their conduct, when we resist error both within the church and without it?"—Here an important distinction, in our judgment, occurs. They raised their voice, it is true, against even a majority of the ministers of that church into which they had entered, as well as against him who had the chief authority over it; but in doing this they occupied no other pulpits than those of the church, and they at length openly separated, assuming, on this account, the name of protestants. If, therefore, there is any minister of the present church who deems the state of it to be such as to demand of him that he shall go forth as a missionary into the parishes of other ministers, refusing in this respect that submission which he stands engaged to pay to his ordinary, let him separate, and let him plainly profess that he separates; but let him remember, that till then his vows are upon him. Let him, we mean, address his bishop, announcing his wish to be considered as no longer

* Mr. Whitefield, in one of his sermons, deduces his right to itinerate from the passage in the ordination service which speaks of ministers as appoined "to seek for Christ's sheep that are *dispersed abroad;*" and is silent as to that part of the same service which we have quoted in the text. The sense of the passage on which he depends is evidently narrowed by some subsequent words, which he has also forborne to quote. They are these: "*Wherefore* consider the end of your ministry" (the end of seeking for Christ's sheep), "and see that you never cease your labour," &c. "until you have done all that lieth in you *to bring all such as are or shall be committed to your charge* unto that agreement in the faith," &c. "that there may be no place left among you either for error in religion or for viciousness of life." It thus appears, that the dispersed sheep of Christ, for which the minister is commissioned to seek, are that part only of the great body of his sheep which is committed to his charge.

subject to an ecclesiastical superior, and a minister of the church; let him throw up his benefice; let him cease to preach in episcopalian churches; let him fairly join himself to the dissenters. Some Unitarians have quitted the church on the ground of their dissent from its doctrine; and their honesty in renouncing lucrative situations in it has been generally applauded. Separatists in discipline appear to us to be called upon, exactly in the same manner as separatists in doctrine, to pass over to the dissenting body.

Now Mr. Whitefield distinctly professed himself a minister at large. "Itinerating" (he used to say) "is my delight." He officiated first in a variety of Church-of-England pulpits; and when these were refused him, he preached both in chapels licensed under the toleration act, in places which were unlicensed, in the open air, in Moor Fields, on Kennington Common, in the pulpits of the associate presbytery in Scotland, in those also of the Scotch national church (which last, by the way, he assured them that he considered to be the best constituted church upon earth; an expression certainly not the most complimentary to episcopacy); and "if the pope himself," said he, "would lend me his pulpit, I would gladly proclaim in it the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ." It was undoubtedly the warmth of a zeal honest in the main, and by no means wholly to be condemned, which carried him on in this career. He continued to his dying hour to justify his conduct in this particular. "So far," said he in his will, "am I from repenting of having preached the Gospel doctrines in an itinerant way, that had I strength equal to my inclination, I would preach them from pole to pole; because I am as much assured that the great Head of the church hath called me by his word, providence, and Spirit to act in this way, as that the sun shines at noon day."

We have in this passage an illustration of the principle, or rather of the religious feeling, which generally governed the determinations of Mr. Whitefield. It was a mixed feeling of piety and enthusiasm; and it affords some key to his whole character. To this warmth of feeling we may trace much of his opinion on discipline, and of his extravagance in doctrine. By this also we may account, in part, for the fluency, the unchastised eloquence, and the excessive familiarity, of his delivery. To this also we may refer certain errors in his conduct, and some infirmities in his temper, which Mr. Winter has been so honest as to notice. He was zealous and sincere, and he joined to the love of God a no less fervent charity towards his fellow-creatures; and yet, both as a divine and as a man, he was manifestly a very imperfect character. "He was," says Mr. Winter, "irritable, but soon appeased:" and "not very patient of contradiction." Having, as we think, too highly estimated the effects of a sudden and somewhat enthusiastic conversion, he was "often disappointed in those in whom he had placed confidence." Himself variable, in consequence of his yielding to the successive impulses of the feelings, he used often to say, "the world and the church ring changes." Transported with the most generous and yet irregular affections, "he would observe to his dependents, If you love me, you will serve me disinterestedly;" and he therefore settled no certain income upon them; a circumstance which led to some disappointment and inconvenience. He appears to have erred in the choice of his wife, as he also acknowledges himself to have done as to the religious character of a young woman to whom he had antecedently paid his abrupt addresses*. "He did not," says Mr. Winter, "*intentionally* make his wife unhappy" — but he left her, as we apprehend, on one side of the At-

* He made to her an offer of marriage, under an idea of her being converted; but afterwards remarked that he found "she was only in a seeking state."

lantic, while he passed over to the other; and when occupied as an evangelist, was too little anxious to fill up the detail of this part of relative duty. "He always," says his friend, "observed great decency and decorum in his conduct towards her. Her death set his mind much at liberty. She certainly did not behave in all respects as she ought." A religion which provides thus ill for the comfort of domestic life, and leaves its possessor singularly weak in his faculty of estimating religious and moral character, is certainly deficient in two very important particulars. Mr. Wesley, also, was not happy in his conjugal connection.

We were treating of Mr. Whitefield's inadequate ideas of church discipline, and have been seduced into some general remarks on his character. There was another obvious cause of his disregard to discipline. He had little respect for the religious wisdom of his superiors in the church; and it is, perhaps, impossible for any minister to fulfil that promise, which he makes at his ordination, "to obey their godly admonitions"—to fulfil it, we mean, both in the letter and in the spirit—who rates so low as Mr. Whitefield did the character of the diocesans, to one or more of whom he must be subject. Of archbishop Tillotson Mr. Whitefield went so far as to say, that "he knew no more of religion than Mahomet;" an expression, indeed, of the imprudence of which he afterwards repented. Doubtless this language was partly that of warmth: but can we wonder, if, entertaining so mean an opinion of the bench in general, as this mode of speaking of one of the most admired of the modern bishops clearly indicates; and having also a very high idea of his own divine call; he should be deemed to be far from giving an example to our parochial clergy of the true spirit of ecclesiastical subordination? And can we say that his recommendation of a candidate for holy orders, or even his intimacy, ought not to operate in some respects to the prejudice of the party whom he meant to favour?* It appears from the praise bestowed by the bishop of London on Mr. Winter, for the honesty with which he acknowledged himself to have been connected with Mr. Whitefield, and from his lordship's subsequent remark, of his having been cautioned by letters from America not to ordain Mr. Winter, that bishops were not accustomed to expect so much plain dealing from men of Mr. Winter's class. They felt the opposition between Mr. Whitefield and themselves to be so great, that, according to their judgment, a candidate of his kind could only hope to effect his object by stealing into the church.

We adverted so particularly to the doctrines of Mr. Whitefield in our Review of Mr. Ingram, that we shall touch but slightly on this ground of offence. We pointed out his enthusiasm, and we also made some observations on the coarse and repulsive manner in which he sometimes propounded and enforced his favourite topic of "the new birth†." The docrine of regeneration is of the last moment in religion. To deny that there must be a change produced in every real Christian, a change of no unimportant nature, beginning in the heart and generally influencing the life, is to represent Christianity as a thing of little magnitude or use. To what purpose has Christ died, to what end has the Son of God descended from his throne above and tabernacled among men, to what avail have mi-

* Many of the sermons of Mr. Whitefield abounded with invectives against the general body of the clergy of the church, and especially against those whom he termed "letter-learned."

† See that part of our review in which we contrasted his language with that of Addison on the same point, and the note in which we mentioned his having been used to speak of "the pangs of the new birth." No. for March, p. 172.

racles been wrought, and a ministry been appointed to make known from age to age the revealed will of heaven, if the communication of that will is to leave each individual, in every moral sense, almost exactly where it found him? If men may be Christians without experiencing any material transformation, the Gospel is of little service; and if of little service, its very truth may reasonably be questioned, for a wise and holy God cannot be supposed to employ such stupendous means for any other than a great as well as moral end. To contend therefore for this doctrine, is to contend for Christianity itself. Here, then, the utmost powers of the preacher should be exerted; but they should be employed not so much to affirm and re-affirm the general tenet, as clearly and largely to explain it. The minister of Christ has not merely to proclaim that the divine Spirit must give his efficacious influence in the work,—a truth of great moment indeed, but soon uttered, and which any man may learn to assert: he has also to point out the means of obtaining this influence, and to shew, from a great variety of quotations from Scripture, its multiplied and excellent effects. The apologists of Mr. Whitefield have excused his itinerancy on the ground of his having first been refused the liberty of preaching in episcopalian churches; and they have ascribed this refusal to his proclaiming the doctrine of the new birth. We suspect that if he had more frequently manifested that he meant by it "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," and had sufficiently enlarged on the various dispositions which we ought to exercise towards our fellow-creatures, and the several parts of moral duty—points, indeed, which he did not wholly leave out—the offence at least would have been less general. His religion was too much a religion of the passions; and the perturbations of the mind which he represented as taking place in conversion, might easily appear to many to approach sometimes to mysticism, and sometimes almost even to madness. A more prudent explanation even of his own meaning, would, in many cases, have removed a large portion of the prejudice *. Occupied in a great measure in affirming the important

* The following letter, written by Mr. Whitefield to Dr. Franklin, in recommendation of this doctrine (certainly not much in explanation of it) may serve to exemplify our remark. "I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study, the mystery of the new birth. It is a most important, interesting study; and when mastered, will richly answer, and repay you for all your pains. One at whose bar we are shortly to appear, hath solemnly declared, that without it we cannot enter the kingdon of heaven. You will excuse this freedom. I must have aliquid Christi in all my letters." When it is considered that the person who was thus addressed was (as it now clearly appears) not even a believer in the truth of Christianity, the inexpediency of thus obtruding upon him the *unexplained* subject of the new birth becomes extremely striking. When our Saviour opened the same doctrine to Nicodemus, he communicated it to a man who acknowledged him to be a teacher sent from God, and who doubtless wished to learn what truths, as yet unknown to a ruler of the Jews, the Messiah had to reveal. "Except," replied Christ, "a man be born again;" except he be born, not merely of Abraham (which is the only title of admission into the church that you are accustomed to contemplate), but also of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; he cannot be a member of my new and spiritual kingdom. Nothing could be more seasonable than this reply of Christ.

Our readers will doubtless be amused with the simplicity of Mr. Whitefield on another occasion. He once preached, it seems, before lord Chesterfield and another nobleman lord B., and some others of the nobility, at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel. In relating this event to his friend J. W. (John Wesley, as we presume) he says: "all behaved quite well, and

but nearly forgotten doctrine of justification by faith, he sometimes seemed to describe conversion as consisting in the reception of this one truth. Thus all the various parts of the Christian character were not properly exhibited; much opportunity was afforded for delusion; and a lame, defective, misshapen Gospel, a contrast indeed to the almost lifeless religion which generally existed, was accredited under the name of the doctrines of grace, and claimed to be the precise Gospel of the Scriptures, of the reformers, and of the Church of England.

The warmth of which we have already spoken as characterizing Mr. Whitefield, might be exemplified in almost all the doctrines which he held. Did he insist on human corruption? Man he would not only affirm is degenerate and depraved: he identified him with the devils. "Do you know that you are nothing but devils incarnate?" is an expression which we find in one of his sermons. "Man," he more than once declares, "is half a beast and half a devil, a motley mixture of the beast and devil." "If I was to paint man in his proper colours, I must go to the kingdom of hell for a copy."—Did he speak of regeneration and conversion? He says in one of his letters, "When God acts upon the soul, he makes quick work of it." And again: "Here" (that is, in Edinburgh) "was the greatest commotion that ever was known, especially at eleven at night. It far out-did all that I saw in America. For about an hour and a half there was such weeping, so many falling into deep distress, as is inexpressible. The people seem to be slain by scores. They are carried off like soldiers wounded in and carried off a field of battle. Their cries and agonies are exceedingly affecting. The Lord is indeed much with me."—Did he treat of salvation by Christ? He did not generally employ those expressions of our church, that Christ by his death on the cross had made "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." His more favourite term was "imputed righteousness;" a term which some persons who heartily trust in the great sacrifice of their Redeemer are fearful of using, on account of the antinomian sound which they think that they perceive in it. Against the men who stumble at the doctrine of imputed righteousness his anathemas seem often to be directed *.—Did he speak of self-righteousness? "That," said he, "is the devil of devils." "Ministers must cut and hack the self-righteous pharisee, and not spare."—Did he expatiate on the influences of the Holy Spirit? (we have already dwelt on his enthusiasm in this respect.) "I feel," said he, "his blessed Spirit daily filling my soul and body, as plain as I feel the air which I breathe, or the food I eat."—Did he touch upon his own spiritual state? "As for my final perseverance, I bless God I have not the least doubt thereof."—Did he treat of God's providential dealings? We have already pointed out his enthusiasm in this respect. His only son being sick, he inferred from an impression on his mind that he would recover. The youth died within a few days afterwards.—He also strongly urged the doctrine of election.

were in some degree affected: lord Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you,' or words to this purpose. He conversed with me freely afterwards. Lord B. was much moved. All accepted of my sermons, and seemed surprised, but pleased. Thus, my dear brother, the world turns round. 'In all time of my wealth, good Lord, deliver me.'"

* "If there be no such thing as the doctrine of an imputed righteousness, those who hold it and bring forth fruit unto holiness are safe; but if there be such a thing (as there certainly is), what will become of you that deny it? Your portion must be in the lake of fire and brimstone for ever." Serm. XIV.

The manner in which Mr. Whitefield conveyed his doctrine was likely to be a further ground of offence to persons of education and refinement. His action was vehement, his hands being frequently uplifted above his head. His voice was so loud, that it is said to have been sometimes heard at the distance of a mile. The passion with which he spoke shewed indeed the honest ardour of his mind, and had a wonderful effect on the lower classes: his language, however, if we may judge from the Eighteen Sermons taken in short-hand and printed by Mr. Gurney against the wish of his executors (which Mr. Winter states to be very descriptive of his manner), was often coarse and familiar in the extreme; and the very passages which might carry alarm into the hearts of some of his more uneducated hearers, might easily seem to others to border on the ridiculous, and even on the profane. The blessed name of Christ must be brought almost even into contempt, in the judgment of many sober and serious persons, by the irreverent fondness with which he sometimes treated it. We shall not introduce any quotations of this kind into our text; but, in order that we may not be deemed prejudiced judges, we shall refer our readers to a note *.

* In one of his letters he writes thus: "Dear sir, Jesus is a precious master. He, as it were, dandles me upon his knees," &c. —— "he assures me from day to day" (Mr. Whitefield often used language which implies personal intercourse with our Saviour) "that he will never leave me nor forsake me." In another letter he says: "To-day my Master, by his Providence and Spirit, compelled me to preach in the churchyard at Islington: to-morrow I am to repeat that mad trick." Of a man supposed likely to be stript of his preferment for preaching the Gospel, he observes, "he is willing naked to follow a naked Christ." When at Savannah, he writes, "My soul has been much carried out in behalf of this place, and now the Lord is about to answer my prayer. T. D. was yesterday in a glorious agony. I prayed with the three girls before I went to church, and their hearts were ready to break. Oh how was my soul carried out, and how did the Holy Ghost fill the room! The same power continues to-day: for near two hours four or five of the girls have been before the Lord, weeping most bitterly, and under such agonies as gives me hope our Lord will soon send them deliverance." But the piece in his works which is most open to censure is his fifth Sermon. This was preached to a society of young women in Fetter Lane, and it consists of a coarse and most familiar parallel, maintained from the beginning of the discourse to the end, in which our blessed Saviour is held up to them under the image of a husband; and they are invited, in terms much too offensive to be all of them inserted, even in our note, to espouse themselves to Jesus Christ. The sermon is entitled "Christ the best Husband: or an earnest Invitation to young Women to come and see Christ." —"By the Spirit," says the preacher, "Christ doth lay hold of you, and by faith you do lay hold on him, and thus the match is made." —"And what do you say, young women? shall I have a grant for my Master, or be sent away with a repulse? Methinks, by this time you should begin to have a mind unto Jesus Christ. You look as if you did desire; you hearken as if you would consent. Shall this be the day of your espousals? Some of you have staid a long time; and will you defer any longer? Perhaps you may never have another opportunity; this may be the last time of asking."—"O reverence" (says the preacher at the end of his discourse), "reverence, I beseech you, this Lord Jesus Christ." Who would have believed that any friend to religion, in possession of his senses, could have spoken or written thus!

It is lamentable to reflect that the

We have made no quotations from the volume containing his Eighteen Sermons taken down in short-hand by Mr. Gurney, because his executors, who doubtless were pained by the extraordinary number of low and offensive passages, as well as by the inaccuracies which they contain, were unwilling to certify them to be his, and endeavoured even to prevent their publication; and because, also, these sermons are said, by Mr. Winter, to have been delivered after his infirmities had begun to grow upon him. There can, however, be no doubt that they were preached in England; and that they contributed to form that character which he had in the eye of the bishops.

letters, and even some of the sermons, of this servant of God, for such, with all his faults, we believe him to have been, should have abounded with expressions which are not fit to have a place in that part of a miscellaneous work which may chance to be read aloud in the family circle. Is it not astonishing that Mr. Whitefield should so often refer to the spirit of persecution, and to the hatred of gospel doctrine, the *whole* of that opposition which he experienced from the bishops, and from so many of the higher classes?

We have now fulfilled our purpose of exposing to view the character, though more particularly the errors, of the most popular perhaps of all the preachers that have appeared in the modern world. His very faults were of a class which contributed to popularity; to popularity, however, only among the lower orders. In some main points, which he contested with some of the very bishops, we confidently pronounce him to have been right; namely, in affirming works to be no *condition* of justification; and, indeed, in the general strain of his doctrine of salvation by grace*. We also think that he fairly pourtrayed the character of too many of our modern Christians†; and that both his doctrine and his life operated as a reproof to the lukewarm, ignorant, and worldly ministers of the church. It is, therefore, not to his extravagancies *alone* that we ascribe the hostility of which he complained. That we have not totally erred in speaking of his faults, his own confession, towards the end of his life, clearly attests*; and we believe that if his spirit could now look down from heaven, and his voice again be heard among us, he would himself earnestly exhort his followers to avoid those rocks against which he struck. That the man who more than any other had attached himself to Mr. Whitefield, and into whose very hands his American concerns seemed likely to fall, should not find ready admission into the church, is to us a matter of not the least surprise, nor indeed even of blame. Knowing Mr. Winter, however, as we now do; believing him to have been in a great measure exempt from most of those faults to which we have adverted, faults nevertheless to which he seems to have been a little blind; we are clearly of opinion that he was in himself a fit subject for episcopal ordination, and more particularly as a minister of the grace of God to

* "No, my lord," said Mr. Whitefield; "if the Gospel be true, salvation is the free gift of God, through Jesus Christ: faith is the means whereby that salvation is applied to our hearts, and good works are the necessary fruits and proof of that faith."

We beg to refer our readers to the latter part of a paper (No. III.) on the Calling of the Gentiles, in our number for June, for an explanation of this doctrine, which very much accords with our own views of the subject.

† "Visit," said he, "worldly people when they are near death. They are so afraid of dying, that the doctor will not suffer us to come near them—no, not common clergymen—for fear of damping their spirits; till they find they are just gone; and then they give us leave to say the farewell prayer to them."

* The following is an extract from his journal to that effect.—"24th of June, 1748, on board. Yesterday I made an end of revising all my journals. Alas! alas! in how many things have I judged and acted wrong. I have been too rash and hasty in giving characters both of places and persons. Being fond of scripture language, I have often used a style too apostolical; and at the same time I have been too bitter in my zeal. Wildfire has been mixt with it; and I find that I frequently wrote and spoke in my own spirit, when I thought I was writing and speaking by the assistance of the Spirit of God. I have likewise too much made inward impressions my rule of acting, and too soon and too explicitly published what had been better kept in longer, or told after my death. By these things I have hurt the blessed cause I would defend, and also stirred up needless opposition. This has humbled me much."

those neglected slaves in America, among whom he had already so honourably laboured during a small portion of his amiable and useful life.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE,

&c. &c.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In the press: Two editions of Dr. Watkins's Scripture Biography improved;—The Life of Romney, by Hayley;—A Portugueze and English Dictionary, abridged from Vieyra and others;—A second volume of Mr. G. Chalmers's historical and topographical Account of North Britain, with Maps, Plans, &c.;—and, Travels through Russia, Tartary, the Crimea, &c. in one volume 4to., by the Rev. Dr. E. Clarke of Cambridge.

A new edition of the Greek text of Herodotus, and of Hephestio's treatise on the Greek Metres, corrected, with Notes, is printing at the Clarendon press. These will be followed by Porti Lexicon Ionicum.

By the new regulations for the British Museum, that noble institution is to be kept open for public inspection every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, except in the Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun weeks, on Thanksgiving and Fast days, and during the months of August and September: application to be made for admission on those days between eleven and two. Friday is reserved for the admission of select companies, brought by a trustee or admitted by an order of the principal librarian. Eight companies, of not more than fifteen persons each, may be admitted in the course of the day; the first at eleven; the others in succession.

The inclosure of Wildmore Fen, below Boston, will bring into immediate cultivation 40,000 acres of inundated, and consequently of hitherto unprofitable land. It is so rich, that considerable part of it is now selling at 50*l.* per acre, and the rest is of equal value. The aggregate amount thereof is 2,000,000*l.* The expenditure of inclosing, draining, &c. has been 400,000*l.*: so that the net profit to the owners of the work will be 1,600,000*l.* sterling.

The heat during the month of July was greater than has been known in England since thermometrical observations have been made and recorded. The thermometer, exposed to the open air in a northern aspect, and in the shade, stood as follows:

July 11..80°	July 14..91°	July 17..83°
12..82½	15..77	18..84
13..94	16..86	19..92

The observations made at the Royal Exchange, at sir Joseph Banks's, and several other places about town, nearly coincided with this account. In many parts of London, indeed, owing to the reflection of the heat from the opposite buildings, the thermometer rose in the shade as high as 100°; and in the sun, during the hottest of the above days, it stood at 147. The medium heat of Jamaica is about 79°; that of Sierra Leone about 83: the highest point to which it has been known to rise at the latter place is 98.

CONTINENTAL.

Bonaparte has had the following return made to him of the number of the Jews in all the different parts of the habitable globe:

In the Turkish empire, . . .	1,000,000
In Persia, China, India, on the east and west of the Ganges,	300,000
In the west of Europe, Africa, and America, ...	1,700,000
Making, in the aggregate, a population of	3,000,000

A canal has been projected, to unite the Scheldt, the Maes, and the Rhine, so as to open a communication between Antwerp and the interior of Germany.

Bonaparte has ordered the complete demolition of the fortress of Hameln in Hanover, and the work of destruction is proceeding rapidly.

AMERICA.

The Rev. Dr. Dwight, president of Yale college, is preparing for the press Observations on a Series of Journeys through the States of New Holland and New York, intended to illustrate the topography, agriculture, commerce, government, literature, manners, morals, and religion of those countries.

A Theological Library has lately been established in Boston. One of the principal

objects of this institution is to collect critical, controversial, and scarce publications in divinity, many of which are difficult to be found, and too expensive for an individual to possess.

Another theological library, on a still larger scale, is collecting at Philips's Academy at Andover, for the accommodation of the theological seminary lately established, and attached to that institution.

Proposals have been issued for printing at the university press at Cambridge, Massachussets, Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament, with a selection of the most important various readings.

Mr. Dobson, of Philadelphia, has announced his intention of publishing by subscription a new translation of the sacred Scriptures; the Old Testament from the Greek of the Septuagint, and the New from the most correct Greek text, with occasional Notes; by Charles Thomson, esq. late secretary to the Congress of the United States. It will be comprised in two large quarto volumes, and the subscription for one copy is fixed at ten dollars.

SIERRA LEONE.

Having received some late numbers of the Sierra Leone Gazette, we are enabled to extract various particulars respecting that part of the world, which cannot fail to prove interesting to our readers.

The following letter to the editor of the Sierra Leone Gazette, seems to afford a satisfactory prospect of benefit from the abolition of the slave trade.

"Since the abolition of the slave trade was made known in the neighbourhood of Goree, a quarrel took place between the king of Damel and the Maraboos; after several skirmishes the Maraboos drove them back, and carried away with them from 500 to 1000 head of cattle; saying, that, as there was no sale for slaves, they would not take their people, but that, as cattle could be turned to advantage, they would take *them*.

"I had some conversation with a man who took an active part against the king of Damel: he assured me that the natives in their neighbourhood had no intention of taking any more prisoners, as they would not sell; but that the idea that those who might unavoidably be taken would be put to death, was quite erroneous.

"Mamadoo Saani, a powerful and intelligent chief in the river Gambia, told me that he regretted the abolition himself, as being the means of depriving him of some considerable emoluments, but that he believed, generally speaking, it would be of great service to the country. One very strong reason he gave was, that the want of confidence in each other, occasioned by the fear of kidnapping, or otherwise making slaves, obliged the natives to be constantly armed, and every man to suspect his brother; but, since the abolition, they had already begun to lay aside their guns when they went out; and he had no doubt, but, in a short time, they would clear away the woods from about their towns that were then built; and that, in building new ones, they would have them in more exposed situations; and that he himself had altered his mind as to the place he had chosen to build a town in, determining to build it now on the banks of the river, and cut down all the woods near him; and that he intended, as he knew many other natives did, to attend as much as possible to cultivation, particularly cotton, which grows there in great abundance."

On the 1st of January last, the colony of Sierra Leone was transferred, with great form, from the Sierra Leone company to his majesty. Before the transfer took place, governor Ludlam, who continued to be governor under the crown, informed the colonists that he was commanded by the court of directors to communicate to them their recorded sentiments in the following terms: "We request you to express to the colonists generally the satisfaction we have felt in contemplating their increasing good order under trying circumstances for several years past; and to assure them that, though we cease to govern them, we shall not cease to take an interest in their concerns; and shall be ready on all occasions to do whatever may be in our power to promote their happiness."

"The total number of deaths at the colony for the year 1807 was thirty-six, of whom two were accidentally drowned; of births, fifty-seven. No death occurred among the company's servants nor among the European troops in that year.

"On the 2d of March, 1808, the reverend missionaries Renner, Butscher, and Prasse, sent out by the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, left Sierra Leone for the Rio Pongas, where they propose to form their principal settlement."

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THEOLOGY.

Christian Doctrine opposed to Heresy, a Visitation Sermon preached at Bedford, May 12, 1808. By the Rev. Joshua Morton, Vicar of Risley. 1s. 6d.

Religious Education, as it constitutes one Branch of the Discipline of the Church of England, considered in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban's, at the Visitation holden June 8, 1808. By Joseph Holden Pott, A. M. 2s. 6d.

Sermons on several Subjects. By the late Rev. William Paley. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, in June 1805. By R. Watson, D. D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff. 1s. 6d.

A Second Letter to the Author of Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge, occasioned by the Vindication of those Remarks, lately republished. By a Clergyman of the Diocese of Durham. 1s.

A Sermon preached before the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, President, and the Members of the Association for discountenancing Vice and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion, April 9, 1807. By the Right Rev. Christopher, Bishop of Clonfert. 2s.

Sermons for the Use of Families. Selected by James Hews Bransby. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

Fruits of Christian Love; or, a Letter to the Society of Friends, called Quakers, on the religious Instruction of their Youth. By Amicus. 1s.

Sermons and Tracts by the late William Paley, D.D. now first collected. 8vo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letters on Literature and Composition, addressed to his Son. By the Rev. George Gregory, D.D. late Vicar of West Ham, domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. 13s.

An Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq. F. R. S. Author of Travels to discover the Source of the Nile. By Alexander Murray, F. A. S. E. 4to. 2*l*. 12s. 6d.

The Harleian Miscellany; a Collection of scarce, curious, and interesting Pamphlets, selected from the Library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Interspersed with historical, political, and critical Annotations; by the late William Oldys, Esq.; and additional Notes by Thomas Park, F. S. A. Vol. I. 4to. 3*l*. 3s.

Philosophical Transactions, abridged by Drs. Hutton, Shaw, and Pearson. Vol. XIV.

The Librarian, containing Analyses of valuable and useful Books, &c. No. I. 1s.

A Letter from Mr. Whitbread to Lord Holland, on the present Situation of Spain.

An Attempt to shew by what Means the United Kingdom and the World at large may be saved from the Subjection to France, without the Abolition in Great Britain and Ireland of all Distinctions on Account of Religion. 7s. 6d.

The Claims of the Roman Catholics constitutionally considered, in a Letter to the Bishop of Norwich. By the Rev. T. Baseley, A. M.

Indian Recreations; consisting of Thoughts on the Effects of the British Government on the State of India. By the Rev. William Tennant. Vol. III. 8vo. 9s.

An Account of Jamaica and its Inhabitants. By a Gentleman long resident in the West Indies. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Travels through Spain and Portugal, recently performed by an English Gentleman, containing accurate Delineations of the Manners and Domestic Condition of that Country, with Anecdotes of the Prince of the Peace, &c., Estimates of the Power and Resources of the Spanish Monarchy, and other interesting and authentic Particulars. In one large volume small 8vo., illustrated with a Map of Spain and several other Engravings. 10s. 6d.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

MISSION SOCIETY TO AFRICA AND THE EAST.

The Report of the proceedings of this society for the last year is preceded by a Sermon on "the Duty and Means of promoting Christian Missions," which was preached at the eighth anniversary of the society, by the Rev. THOMAS ROBINSON, M. A., vicar of

St. Mary's, Leicester. The text is, Rom. x. 13---15; from which passage he takes occasion to explain the great plan of divine mercy, the means appointed for its promulgation, and the duty of promoting missions. We have read this discourse with pleasure, and we hope with profit; and we recommend it to the notice of our readers, as an able and impressive vindication of the exertions which have been recently made to extend the pale of Christianity. We shall not attempt to analyze this discourse, nor is it in our power to quote from it largely, as we should be happy to do. We shall insert, however, a few detached extracts, as specimens of the preacher's manner, and as an inducement to peruse the whole.

"Salvation is a term of large extent; comprehending within itself an abundance and variety of invaluable blessings. Salvation is the recovery of the soul to God, to happiness, to holiness. It is the complete pardon of the condemned sinner, the free justification of the ungodly, the resurrection of the soul that was dead in sins, and its entire renovation in righteousness: it is an access to God with confidence, an adoption into his family, and present communion with him: it gives grace for holy obedience and final perseverance: it ensures the victory over death, the resuscitation of the body, an admission into heaven, and the full possession of all the glories and felicities of that everlasting kingdom." p. 280.

"We deduce your obligations to missionary exertions, from the common principles of your religion: nor can we, on these principles, conceive favourably of that man's spiritual state, who is indifferent about the souls of his fellow-creatures; and asks, like an ancient murderer, *Am I my brother's keeper?* Gen. iv. 9. Go, then, you, *who have tasted that the Lord is gracious*, and evince your gratitude to Him, who died for you, by your zealous and unwearied efforts to promote the purposes of his death. Go, and, like Him, weep over the sinners who are ready to perish; but, at the same time, as opportunity may be given, reprove them, warn, exhort, call to them with an importunity not to be refused. Enquire whether means may not be devised to prevent the tremendous ruin, and to pluck the firebrand out of the burning. Oh what an honour, to be workers together with God to save souls from death! Is there any distinction on earth to be so ardently desired? But if, on the contrary, you are content to leave others to perish, provided only that you escape destruction, we ask, Where is your concern for the glory of God? Where, your gratitude for redemption? Where, your conformity to the mind of the Saviour, who came from heaven, suffered, bled, and died, to save that which was lost? Where, your bowels of compassion? Where, 'that faith which worketh by love?' Where is the rich assemblage of Christian Graces, which we are taught to expect in the true believer? Where, all those 'fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God?'" p. 291, 292.

"Nor will you be so contracted, as to confine your regard to men of one nation, or even of one colour. You better understand, I trust, 'who is our neighbour.' Christian love knows neither partialities nor limitations. Its anxieties and energies are directed to the everlasting happiness of the whole human species. With such an enlarged affection, extend your views to the remotest corners of the world. How melancholy the prospect! How deplorable is the state of darkness and depravity, in which by far the greater part of mankind remain! The light of revelation shines over a very small portion of the earth. What shall be said of the many millions, to whom the salvation of God has never been made known? There are but few of that description, who are not idolaters or atheists; sunk into a degree of ignorance, misery, and sin, beyond any conceptions which we can form." p. 293.

"Let fervent supplication, then, ascend unto God continually, that He may speedily visit them in mercy, dissipate their darkness, and break their bonds in sunder. There is not one, however poor, who may not pour out a daily prayer for the benighted Heathen: and were there no other end answered by this sermon, than the promotion of such a spirit of ardent and charitable intercession throughout the congregation, I shall yet have preached to good purpose. But I would say to you, do more. Unite your counsels, your efforts, your contributions. Send them the word of life: promote the translation of the Scriptures into their various languages, and disperse copies of the Bible as extensively as you can. I rejoice that such a plan is in a state of progress. May it prosper even beyond your expectations!" Amen! p. 298.

The substance of the society's report has already been given in our number for June. A very sensible letter from the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the chaplain of the colony in New South Wales, is given in the Appendix, in which he suggests the formation of a missionary establishment in New Zealand. "The arts and religion," he observes, "should go together. The attention of the heathen can

be gained, and their vagrant habits corrected, only by the arts. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel. I do not mean that a native should learn to build a hut or make an axe before he should be told any thing of man's fall and redemption; but that these grand subjects should be introduced at every favourable opportunity, while the natives are learning any of the simple arts. To preach the Gospel without the aid of the arts will never succeed amongst the heathen for any time. Much of the success of a mission depends upon the qualifications of the persons employed in the work. Four qualifications seem absolutely requisite for a missionary: piety, industry, prudence, and patience. It will be readily admitted that sound piety is essential; and that, without this, nothing can be expected. A man must feel a lively interest in the eternal welfare of the heathen to spur him on to the discharge of his duty. A missionary should also be naturally of an industrious turn; a man, who could live in any country by dint of his own labour. An industrious man has great resources in times of difficulty and danger in his own mind. Great difficulties will easily be surmounted by an industrious man, while very small ones will overwhelm an idle man with despair. It is worthy of remark, that in all my observations on mankind I have rarely ever known an industrious man become an idle one, or an idle man industrious. A missionary's habits of industry ought to be fully established, or he will be found totally unfit for the arduous work of the mission, in a country where nothing has been done before him. It will also require great prudence and circumspection in a missionary, to govern a savage mind, upon which his own very existence will depend. His difficulties will many of them be new; and much greater and more numerous than he can possibly imagine or foresee. On this account he will require great patience and perseverance to bear up under them."

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

CONTINENTAL INTELLIGENCE.

THE political events of the present month may be comprised in a few sentences, and yet are they of the most important and encouraging nature.

The French forces which had been detached from Madrid under Dupont, in order to secure to Bonaparte Cadiz and the ships which lay in its harbour, were attacked near Cordova by the Andalusian army under general Castanos, and after some severe fighting, in which the former lost 3000 men, they capitulated on the 20th of July to the patriots. The troops of Dupont's division, amounting to 8000 men, were made prisoners of war; another division of 6000 men, which was marching to his relief, likewise surrendered, but on terms, and are to be embarked at Cadiz and sent to Rochefort. The patriotic force consisted of about 13,000 regular troops and 12,000 peasantry. "There no longer exists a French force in Andalusia."

The effect of this great victory has been to compel Joseph Bonaparte, and the whole of the French force remaining at Madrid, to evacuate that city and to take the route to France. The evacuation began on the 29th of July, and was completed on the 31st. They carried with them all the artillery and ammunition they could find means to convey, destroying the rest: they also plundered the treasury and the palaces of every article of value.

With the exception of the citadel of Barcelona, and the French frontier, Spain may now be considered as freed from the French yoke. We cannot, however, flatter ourselves or our readers, that the freedom and independence which have been thus so nobly achieved, are yet placed in a state of security. Bonaparte will not easily relinquish his purpose of reducing Spain into the condition of a fief of his empire, and through his official organ, the Moniteur, he has announced that an army of 150,000 men is on its march to carry that purpose into effect. And though we trust that even this force will prove unequal to its task, and that an armed nation, fighting for all that is dear to them, will prove an overmatch for all the bravery, discipline, and military skill which can be marshalled against them, yet the dreadful amount of blood and carnage, of misery and devastation, which the struggle is likely to produce, cannot be contemplated

without horror. May the Almighty in mercy disarm the destroyer's rage, and afford peace to a bleeding world!

The British troops under sir Arthur Wellesley and general Spencer had made good their landing in Portugal, and were marching, in conjunction with a large Portugueze force, to the attack of Junot, who was hemmed up in Lisbon with ten or twelve thousand men. Their surrender may be confidently expected.

While these events have been passing in the south of Europe, the intelligence from the north has been no less gratifying. Ten thousand of the Spanish troops employed by Bonaparte in the Danish territories have been rescued from his power, and are now on their way to Spain, to aid their brethren in arms in the glorious conflict they are maintaining against the tyrant of Europe. Five thousand more, who were stationed in Zealand, attempted to escape into a place of safety: but their intention being discovered, means were found to prevent its execution and to deprive them of their arms. We trust that Dupont's army will be retained as hostages for their good treatment.

The rumours of a war between Austria and France gather strength. Should they be realized, Bonaparte will require all the force he can muster to make head against this power and Spain, even supposing that none of the other powers of Europe whom he has subjugated should seize so favourable a moment for attempting to burst their shackles.

The Swedes are said to have obtained a considerable advantage over the Russians in Finland.

AMERICA.

The only news received from America are, that the embargo is still enforced, and that an increasing degree of dissatisfaction with the measure appears to pervade that country.

GREAT BRITAIN.

A large French frigate, the Piedmontaise, has been captured in the East Indies by a British frigate, the San Fiorenzo, captain Hardinge, after a severe engagement, in which captain Hardinge was killed.

The East-India fleet, consisting of twelve sail, has arrived in the river Thames. India was tranquil.

OBITUARY.

REV. THOMAS SOWERBY.

On the 30th of July died, at the Bristol Hot Wells, in the thirty-third year of his age, the Rev. Thomas Sowerby, A. M. fellow and tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge, and chaplain to the bishop of Meath. Mr. Sowerby affords another instance, in addition to numbers which might be produced, that superior talents, and uncommon attainments, when united with a simple and teachable spirit, are rather friendly than hostile to the reception of religious truth. Of his early life we are able to give little account: he was born in Cumberland, educated at Appleby school, and, at the usual age, admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge; where he commenced his residence in October 1794. From the system of instruction adopted in that university, a man of abilities is presently known; and a very short time had elapsed before it was generally admitted that Mr. Sowerby might reasonably look forward to the first honours of the place. Having particularly distinguished himself in the examinations of his own college, he at length came, in January 1798, to the great trial in the senate house: here he was soon placed without a competitor, and declared the senior wrangler of his year; and in the following week he obtained the first of Dr. Smith's two prizes for the best proficients in mathematics and natural philosophy: the highest honour, we believe, which the university confers on any person in statu pupillari.

From the circumstance of his being deeply engaged in the acquisition of other knowledge, Mr. Sowerby had hitherto paid little attention to religious subjects. He first began to entertain serious impressions about the time when he took his bachelor's degree; and immediately on his retiring into the country gave himself with great earnestness to the examination of the Scriptures. The result was, as every humble inquirer will most assuredly find it, a firm conviction of the truth of the essential doctrines of the Gospel. In a letter to a friend written at that period, he expresses his astonishment at the ignorance in which he had hitherto remained with respect to the real nature of Christianity, and his delight at the prospects which now opened before him.

From that time, it was easy to observe in his whole character and deportment a material change; for though his natural liveliness of disposition never forsook him, and though the activity of his mind still urged him to the acquisition of knowledge, yet his chief pleasure was now in the society of those from whose conversation he hoped to derive spiritual improvement, and his principal study was the Word of God. We are persuaded it

would be no easy matter to point out many persons in active life who have dedicated so much time, for years together, to the reading of the Scriptures as Mr. Sowerby did; yet so little was there of parade or affectation about him, that probably few of his acquaintance were aware of it.

In January 1799 he was elected fellow of Queen's College, and appointed by the master to a share in the tuition. This circumstance he always considered as one of the happiest events of his life: it introduced him to the knowledge of the dean of Carlisle, of whose kind regard he was accustomed to speak with peculiar pleasure, and for whom he entertained to his latest hour the warmest feelings of respectful affection. In the summer of the same year he was ordained deacon, by the bishop of Ely; and immediately proceeded to take charge of the new church at Kingston upon Hull, in the absence of Mr. Dikes. His labours in that place were peculiarly acceptable; and his name will be dear to many in Hull, so long as his memory shall last. The duties of college necessarily occupied the greatest part of his time; yet he continued to preach (chiefly in the churches of his friend Mr. Simeon) while his health would permit, and long after some of his friends had thought him unequal to the task. In 1804 he sustained the office of moderator, and discharged the duties of the appointment in a manner highly honourable to himself, and which rendered him deservedly popular among the students. Indeed he was on every occasion singularly happy in conciliating the affections of all around him.

After repeated attacks of sickness, he was at length compelled, about the beginning of April 1808, to leave college for the benefit of his health: his disorder was a rapid decline, upon which neither medicine nor change of air seemed to produce any favourable effect. Throughout the whole of his illness, his Christian patience and Christian fortitude were very conspicuous; not a complaint escaped him; and when a friend expressed to him his concern at the length and severity of his sufferings, he replied by observing that he ought rather to be thankful, as he had been favoured with time for reviewing his past life, and had derived benefit from affliction. For several weeks previous to his death, his strength was so much exhausted, that he seldom spoke except in monosyllables; but the little which he could articulate, shewed how well he was prepared for his approaching change. So long as he was able to read, his Bible was almost constantly in his hand, and he frequently appeared to be engaged in prayer. When he could read no longer, he accepted with many thanks the offices of a friend. The fourteenth and seventeenth chapters of St. John were peculiarly pleasing to him; and, feeble as he was, he more than once expressed with animation the great comfort which he derived from hearing them. On the night preceding his death he was almost perpetually employed in devotion; his strength seemed to be somewhat revived, and no immediate apprehensions were entertained. About half past nine in the morning, he hastily caught the hand of an attendant who was standing by the bed, and, smiling, pointed to a chair, adding the word "down:" in an instant the awful change began to take place; and, after a few minutes, without a sigh or a groan, he breathed his last.

So terminated the mortal existence of the Rev. Thomas Sowerby, apparently in the height of his usefulness. But the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. If the writer of this account should speak all he thinks of his departed friend, it is probable that much would be attributed to personal regard, and to the partiality of private feeling; he will therefore be silent: panegyric is of no service to the dead. But should this simple narrative meet the eye of any young student in the university, who is in danger of being laughed out of his religion by such as term it the refuge of ignorance or the weakness of enthusiasm, he will bear in mind that the subject of this memoir has left in Cambridge few equals of his own age, and perhaps no superior, whether we regard the brilliancy of his talents or the extent and variety of his learning. He will see that religion is not necessarily connected with austerity or gloom, but can associate with cheerfulness of character the most attractive, and with playfulness of manner the most conciliating. Above all, he will perceive, however valuable may be the possession of talents and learning, that a period must arrive when genius will be unavailing and knowledge will fail. Nothing but real religion can support us in the hour of affliction, and it is the blessed hope of immortality alone which can smooth the bed of death.

ERRATA.

Last Number, p. 477, col. 1, l. 26, for *dementes* read *dementat.*
Present Number, p. 490, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom, for *face* read *wrath.*
495, col. 2, l. 18, for *or* read *nor.*

For Answers to Correspondents, see second page of Cover.